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CHAPTER IV

POPULATION

Introduction. In 1950 there were about one million people living in the 12,500 square kilometers of the Recôncavo--0.15 per cent of Brazil's area and about 2 per cent of its total population.[1] A more meaningful comparison is one with the effectively occupied coastal belt extending from Maranhão to Rio Grande do Sul, including the interior state of Minas Gerais.[2] The Recôncavo occupies 0.4 per cent of the area of these states and has a little over 2 per cent of the people.

The relatively modest size of this population does not reflect adequately the great historical importance of the Recôncavo. The compact distribution and cohesion of this settlement make it a significant concentration of the people of modern Brazil.

The Recôncavo is the foremost nucleus of settlement in the state of Bahia in both the historical and purely demographic sense. With its one million people, it had in 1950 almost 86 people per square kilometer. There were 3,800,000 people in the rest of the state, but there was no concentration which had a size and density equal to that of the Recôncavo. The only other areas with even approximately equal density--Santo Antônio de Jesus and Nazaré--were contiguous with the Recôncavo. The chief city of the Recôncavo, Salvador, was fourteen times the size of any other urban center in Bahia, and of the five next most populous cities--with a population range of 20,000 to 30,000--two were in the Recôncavo.[3]

The discussion which follows is divided into two parts. First the general character of the population will be analyzed in terms of general cultural development, race, class, family, and economic

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else along the western border. This modest concentration, scarcely a cluster, represents the sum of a number of small agricultural settlements scattered along the humid slopes of low serras. There are about 12,000 agricultural workers distributed over this area.

The distributional pattern of the rest of the Recôncavo can be visualized as a coarse net in which the clusters are linked by areas with population densities of 10 to 20 per square kilometer. There is one large hole in this connecting net: along the common border of Cachoeira, São Gonçalo, and Santo Amaro there is a zone with less than ten and sometimes less than five agricultural workers per square kilometer. This zone, very near to the center of the Recôncavo, for the most part is an area of rough sandy hills bordering the crystalline--here the hills are particularly rugged and the transition zone broad. On three sides--southwest, north, and northeast--this sparsely settled zone is bordered by important clusters of agriculturalists.

The agricultural labor force of the Recôncavo is, as has been seen, irregularly distributed. This distribution is highly fluid--movement and growth and decline are continuously altering the pattern. The whole region gained about 6,500 agriculturalists between 1940 and 1950, but these statistics do not reflect the extent of local relocation.

In the central Recôncavo one município, Santo Amaro, lost almost 6,000 agricultural workers between 1940 and 1950, and in three municípios of the central and eastern Recôncavo, Santo Amaro, São Francisco, and Pojuca, losses exceeded 20 per cent. On the other hand, in three municípios of the uplands of the northern and northwestern Recôncavo--Alagoinhas, Feira de Santana, and Santo Estêvão--there were gains of over 20 per cent. Over all, twelve municípios gained and nine lost agriculturalists; the mean change in the agricultural labor

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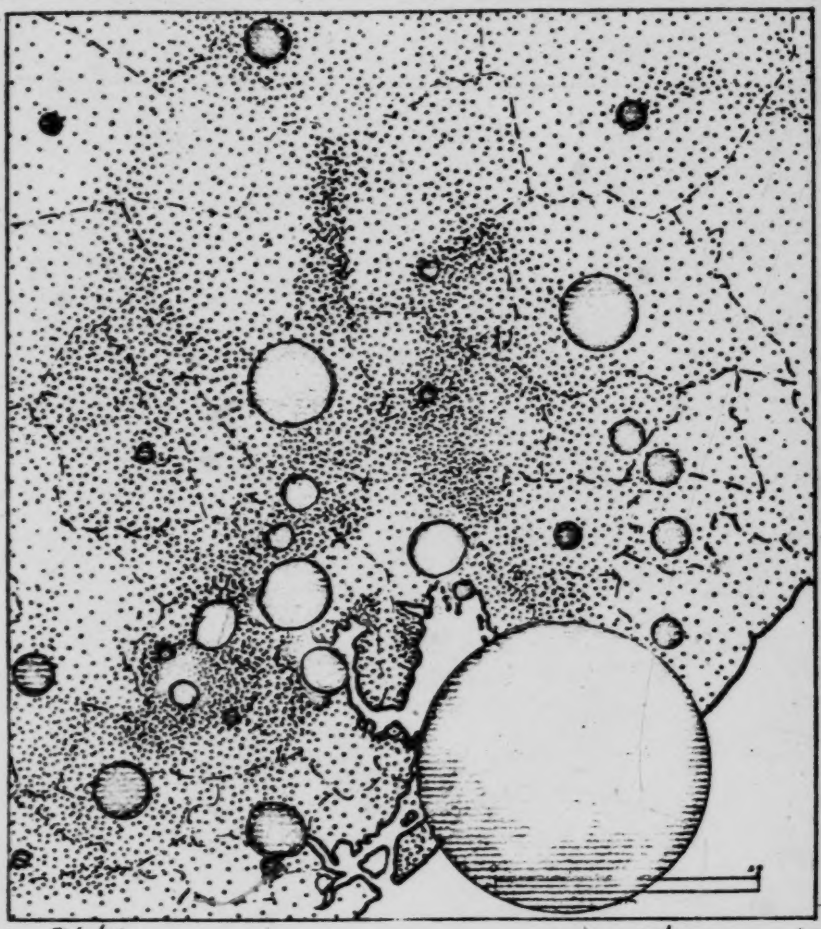

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The other urban centers of the Recôncavo:

	1950 Population
Maragogipe	9,744
Muritiba	7,452
Cruz das Almas	6,758
São Gonçalo	3,771

are all local trade and cigar manufacturing centers. Maragogipe is a port of minor importance.[37] The other urban centers have inland locations, near the inner edge of the Crystalline Uplands.[38]

Near the Recôncavo are four urban centers which have minor but appreciable effect upon its agricultural economy:

	1950 Population
Santo Antônio de Jesus	11,417
Nazaré	11,215
Castro Alves	6,479
Serrinha	4,602

Santo Antônio de Jesus and Nazaré are located along the southern periphery of the Recôncavo, and Castro Alves and Serrinha on the southwestern and northwestern periphery, respectively. All these centers are on one of Bahia's two main railroads, both of which terminate at the Bay—at Salvador or at São Roque do Paraguaçu.[39]

In 1950 the nine major urban centers of the Recôncavo had 100,000 to 120,000 workers in industry, transportation, and merchandising.[40] In all cities of the Recôncavo, except Salvador, the industrial workers almost exclusively were engaged in processing agricultural products--in sugar refining, cigar manufacturing, and slaughtering. Except for some of the animals slaughtered in Feira de Santana and the poorer grades of tobacco brought in from the sertão, these agricultural products originate in the Recôncavo.

The industrial structure of Salvador is more complex. It processes agricultural products from the Recôncavo, but also from other parts of the state, notably cacao. There is a small textile industry. It is probable that the majority of the industrial workers are employed in numerous small service industries which supply Salvador

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CHAPTER V

CROPS AND CROPLAND DISTRIBUTION

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Introduction. The Recôncavo is an enclave of cultivated land facing on the sea and more than half surrounded by the Sertão of Northeastern Brazil. It is one of a number of detached areas of dense settlement and intensive crop cultivation scattered along the northeastern coast—Pernambuco, Sergipe, Alagoas, and the states of the northern coast of the "bulge" of Brazil have similar coastal nuclei. Indeed, this littoral mode of settlement is characteristic of Brazil, although in the center and the south of the country the concentrations of settlement and cultivation are usually separated from the ocean by a belt of rough hills or mountains. A glance at a population map clearly reveals that Brazil is a coastal nation as far as the distribution of its people is concerned; indirectly such a map demonstrates the coastal distribution of crop cultivation. In this, Brazil somewhat resembles the United States at the opening of the nineteenth century when it, too, was altogether a nation of the Atlantic seaboard. The specific nuclear character of the Recôncavo dates from the beginning of its settlement—it was from the first a region of crop cultivation, and the settlement of the sertão of Bahia derived from the people and needs of the Recôncavo. During the four centuries since the Portuguese first came, the crops, animals, and systems of production of the Recôncavo have retained much of their original character.

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The present chapter deals with the principal activity of the Recôncavo, the production of crops. As a preliminary to the discussion of the individual crops and their distributions, it is appropriate to

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241 over the forest or the caatinga. In most areas it is the second growth, not the cultivated fields, which dominates the landscape.

241 361 443 634 The scale of the maps accompanying the following sections does not allow the indication of one of the significant patterns of cropland distribution in the Recôncavo--the concentration of cultivation around the cidades, the political centers. Each cidade is the economic focus of its município and is usually the primary market for the products of its cultivators. The poorly developed system of transportation in the rural areas puts a premium on proximity to the market center. Thus in most of the municípios there is a decrease in cultivation away from the cidade, and where the municípios are large, such as on the northern and western perimeter of the Recôncavo, cropland becomes very widely scattered before the political boundary is reached. This centralized distribution of cropland has been complicated by the development of roads and truck traffic. Cultivators tend to cluster along the main highways with little regard for the absolute distance to the market of the cidade; accessibility as represented by time rather than distance seems to be the more important factor in choosing land for cultivation, providing that land is available. The pattern of concentration of cultivation along the highway is especially characteristic of the Upland sections of the Recôncavo.[1]

241 198 There are many exceptions to the modes of cropland distribution mentioned above. In the Recôncavo tradition and prestige often contravene direct economic self-interest. On a large scale the persistence of sugar cultivation is an example of the unwillingness to explore new sources of income. In other areas the traditional social advantages of land ownership may impede the subdivision of large properties into farms or rented plots, even where hired labor is not available to cultivate the land efficiently. Livestock production, which offers

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241 311 178 are many local signs of the increase in cultivation—expanding rural settlement, overcrowded market facilities, and stories of the "old days" [361] when life was more leisurely and the land problem less severe. Two areas of the Recôncavo are in great contrast as far as the trend of land use is concerned—the Central Recôncavo on the one hand and the 249 311 178 outer Recôncavo, especially the Southwest, on the other. As a result of the stabilization of the sugar industry by the Instituto do Açúcar e do [654] [656] Álcool and, undoubtedly, of the high fixed costs of the sugar industry, the area under cultivation in the Central Recôncavo has remained relatively constant. Indeed, since large-scale speculation in the cultivation of cane is no longer feasible, as a result of government control, it is possible that marginal lands have been withdrawn from cultivation or have been converted to other uses. However, the evidence of the present land use pattern, at least in the area north of the Bay, is against this hypothesis--there are no signs of abandoned cane fields and no extensive areas with any form of land use except those associated with the sugar industry. There are indications of the abandonment of cultivation near the lesser sugar cane area north of the Bacia do Iguape, but the state of the abandoned sugar mills suggest that the decline in cultivation took place before the last decade. In general, then, the area in cane probably was relatively stable during the 1940's and the 1950's, at least to 1953.

249 244 311 178 The situation in the areas of the cultivation of tobacco and manioc is more complicated, in part because the economies of these crops are not stabilized. The area in tobacco undoubtedly has fluctuated over a wide range from year to year, although the area in manioc probably has tended to change more steadily, since it is a basic food crop. There seems to be no question but that during the 1940's the area in

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13 The physical setting of the tobacco and manioc region is distinctive in terms of the particular combination of topography, soils, climate, and vegetation which are joined along its crescent axis. The region lies along the semi-circular edge of the interior upland, overlooking the Bay and the Coastal Plain. In the south the fields of manioc and tobacco occupy the upper surfaces of the Crystalline Uplands and the adjacent Intermediate Hills. In the north, cultivation shifts to the summits and upper slopes of the Intermediate Hills, although there is some concentration on the extreme southern edge of the taboleiros. Thus the region occupies the deep flat-lying residual crystalline soils in the south but in the Tertiary soil zone to the north follows the slope lands where there is more rainfall and perhaps better local soils. The close correspondence of this region with the forest and scrub-forest transition has been repeatedly emphasized. A traverse across the tobacco-manioc region anywhere between Conceição do Almeida and Feira de Santana takes one from rough hills with at least scattered patches of broadleaf evergreen forest to flat uplands with cactus, thorny brush, and licuri palms.

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• 36 A comparison of the map of population (Map 21) and of the relationship of tobacco and manioc cultivation (Map 75) points up the necessity for local sources of basic subsistence products. In the Southwest, where rural populations are relatively dense and where there are a number of large villages and towns, manioc tends to be cultivated over a greater area than does tobacco. In the tobacco-manioc region north of the Rio Paraguaçu, where tobacco is usually the leading crop, the density of rural population is lower, and there are no towns and only a few large villages. Thus there is close relationship between the relative intensity of manioc and the size of the local market.

[438]

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244 The recent historical pattern of agriculture in the tobacco-manioc region can be reconstructed only on a general level. Cachoeira, which

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249 The portion of the sugar cane region north of the Bay is an area
161 of relatively dense rural population, with a large number of villages
• 361 and plantation settlements and one city--Santo Amaro. The remaining areas of the sugar cane region have only moderately dense rural populations and no major urban centers, although the cidade of Nazaré is very close to the southern border of São Filipe.

[128] The tremendous historical significance of the sugar cane region has been discussed at length in the section on the historical setting of the
249 Recôncavo. As far as the sugar cane zone of Santo Amaro, São Francisco,
178 and São Sebastião is concerned, the extent of the region does not appear to have changed very much since colonial times. Old engenhos are found throughout the zone, indicating past cultivation in all areas now in cane. The present usinas cultivate sugar cane intensively clear across the Cretaceous zone, so that it is not likely that the cane area has contracted. However, there are several abandoned engenhos and settlements on the north and east shores of the estuary of the Paraguaçu which seem to indicate that sugar cane cultivation was formerly more extensive around the Bacia do Iguape.

244 The two intensive crop regions of tobacco and manioc and sugar
249 cane, as outlined above, can be viewed as nodal areas which are basic
311 to the regional distinctiveness of the Recôncavo; they are for all practical purposes included totally within its limits; their crop patterns are not duplicated in any nearby area; and they include within their boundaries a very large part--and the most productive part--of its agricultural area.

241 In distinction to the above intra-Recôncavo regions there are
311 at least three crops which overlap the borders of the Recôncavo, forming crop regions which have their most characteristic development in adjoining areas. The Atlantic coast of Salvador and Itaparica supports

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245 311 The Atlantic coast of Salvador and Itaparica supports a coconut monoculture--a monoculture which is most strongly developed north of the Recôncavo in Camassari and Mata de São João. The actual area of the coconut monoculture within the Recôncavo is slight, and beyond this monocultural zone, coconut cultivation is rarely significant within the region.

The coconut monoculture lies between the littoral forest and the beach in Itaparica and between the agreste and the beach in Salvador and in the municípios farther north. Except in the município of [161] [162] [361] Salvador, the rural population of the coconut area is not dense. The typical settlement of this zone is the fishing village, sprawled over the beach near the mouth of a small stream. Inland the population is scattered.

243 244 311 A much more important crop system intrudes upon the Northwestern Recôncavo--the corn-bean system. The nuclear area for this system seems to lie in northern Serrinha and in the municípios bordering upon the state of Sergipe. The area in which over 80 per cent of the cropland was in corn and beans in 1948 overlapped the borders of the Recôncavo into western Feira de Santana and Santo Estêvão--a zone of low serras (Map 76). In this zone the area in corn was from one to two times the area in beans (Map 77).

[134] Most of the soils of this region are either crystalline or Tertiary sands, but the pockets of soil which are actually cultivated are almost invariably heavier and more water retentive than are the sandy upland soils of the taboleiros. The corn-bean region generally [162] has a small but nucleated rural population and a few medium-sized cidades, which are the only towns of the very large municípios which are characteristic of the area. [361] However, the part of the corn-bean region which overlaps the Recôncavo has a number of villages and hamlets in the valleys of the serras.

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000 Footnotes - Chapter VIII

[1]Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Bahia, Vol. II.

[2]The data for the total area of the various municípios used in this analysis are taken from Características Demográficas do Estado da Bahia, No. 8. These data are the most recent and presumably most accurate available for the state of Bahia. In a number of cases they disagree markedly with area given in the 1940 census, which was based upon earlier and probably less accurate calculations from older maps.

[129] [3]The distinction between large- and small-scale units was made in the census as follows: (1) Agricultural units with over 50 hectares in "major crops (pineapple, alfalfa, cotton, rice, oats, potatoes, sugar cane, rye, barley, beans, tobacco, castor beans, manioc, corn, wheat, coffee, cacao, coconuts, oranges, bananas, or grapes) were large-scale. All others were small-scale. Area in these crops was estimated from production figures and mean yields. (2) Livestock units with 200 head of cattle or sheep; 100 head of horses, goats, or pigs; or 50 asses or mules, or an appropriate combination of these, were large-scale. Alternatively, a smaller number of reproductive females--100 cows or ewes; 60 mares; or 20 sows--made the unit large-scale. All others were small-scale. (3) Crop-livestock units, in order to qualify as large-scale units, had to satisfy both criteria simultaneously.

[241] [137] [184] [361] [4]The size, shape, and physical and economic diversity of many of the municípios of the Recôncavo make it very difficult to evaluate and to map mean data. This is particularly true of Santo Amaro, of which part is in the sugar cane region, part in the tobacco-manioc region, and part in sparsely settled forest land. It is also true for São Gonçalo, which stretches from the humid Intermediate Hills to the dry western caatinga. Of all the municípios, only São Félix and Conceição da Feira, both very small, have a relatively homogeneous landscape. The details of the interpretations and, to an even greater extent, the maps were drawn with numerous inferences based upon correlative data and field observations.

[5]Agricultural properties are also held by religious orders, syndicates, cooperatives, and other legal persons, but such properties are not very common in the Recôncavo. "Squatters," as defined by the census, included both those who occupied public land legally but without title and those who illegally occupied private land. Renters included both cash and share renters.

[6]There were about 50 administrator-operated properties, with an average size of 30 hectares, in the município of São Félix, according to the census. The reasons for this concentration are not apparent, especially since this local phenomenon was not studied in the field. The concentrations around Salvador and on the island of Itaparica are suburban country houses--chácaras--a Brazilian institution. Many of these chácaras are on small properties which are operated by an overseer and which produce some agricultural products, especially vegetables and fruits. A large number of these properties line the eastern shore of the island of Itaparica; there are also a few in the forested area around Salvador.

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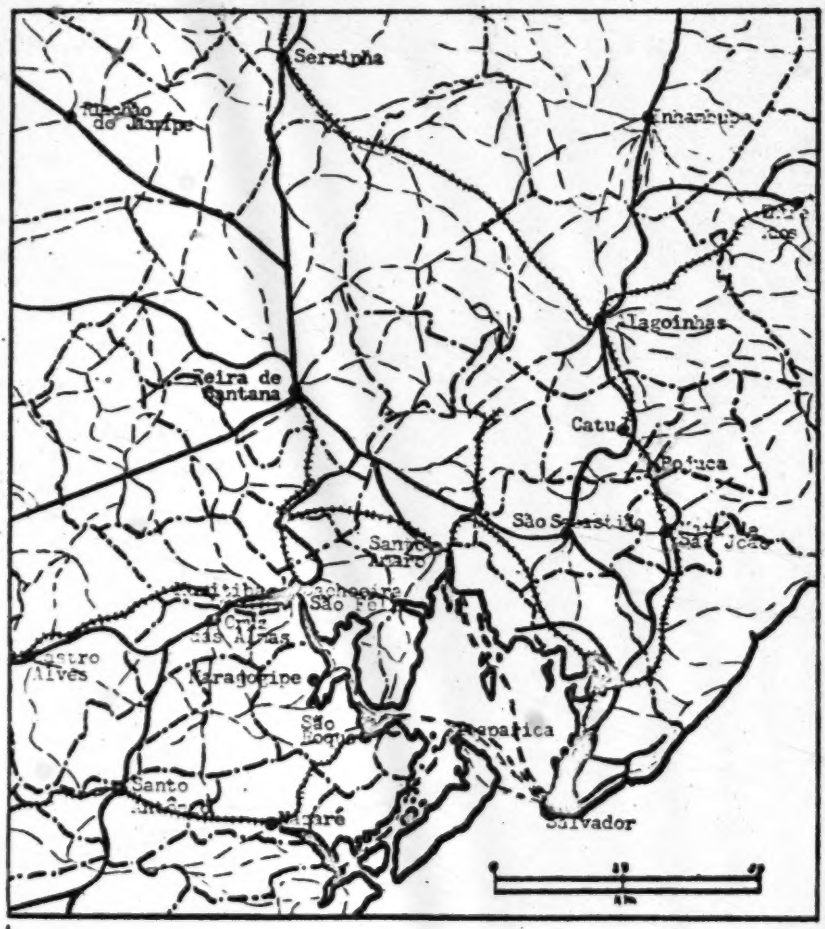

MAP 129

1. Sugar Country

THE REGION of Brazil in which this study was made is a small area in the state of Bahia called the Recôncavo. This is the land surrounding the Bay of All Saints, a fertile basin extending inland no more than 40 kilometers at the most. Situated on a high bluff overlooking the entrance to the Bay of All Saints is Salvador, the capital of the state of Bahia, generally referred to as Bahia, or "the capital," or simply "the city." After Salvador was settled in 1549, the colonization of the Recôncavo proceeded at a rapid rate. Since early in the colonial period, the Recôncavo has been divided into three distinct areas: a southern area devoted mainly to the raising of manioc, the food staple of much of Brazil; a western section devoted to the cultivation of tobacco; and a northern and eastern area, given almost exclusively to large-scale sugar-cane monoculture. This study was made in the third zone, the one producing sugar cane.

The region, which can be called the "sugar-Recôncavo," partakes of the long tradition of sugar-cane growing which formed the basis for the early colonization of Brazil. A narrow strip of land along the northeast coast of Brazil in what are now the states of Pernambuco, Sergipe, Alagoas, and Bahia was the focus of the economic, political, and social life of the entire colony. This region, under the colonization of the Portuguese, produced a large part of the world's sugar supply at a time when sugar was a great luxury in Europe. The northeast coast of Brazil became an exceedingly prosperous part of the colony early in its history. Salvador, in Bahia, and Recife, in Pernambuco, became the most impor-

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[249] tant centers of colonial life, and until 1763 Salvador was the capital of the Portuguese colony.

The Recôncavo helped to make Brazil a unique part of the Portuguese empire in the sixteenth century. Brazil was different from any of the other Portuguese colonies, for its wealth proved to lie in agriculture rather than in trade, as was the case in India and Africa. The Bay of All Saints, with
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[361] a circumference of 200 kilometers, is in effect an inland sea, the entrance to which can be guarded from the heights on which the city of Salvador is situated. There are a number of picturesque islands throughout the bay, with good beaches and landing facilities. Many small rivers empty into the bay, and numerous creeks navigable at high tide extend further inland
[487] along its shores. The presence of such a large network of navigable waters was an important factor in the rapid development of the Recôncavo, providing easy and inexpensive transportation of sugar to the point of shipment to Europe.

132 The climate is semitropical, with two seasons. Summer, from September to sometime in March, is relatively dry, dotted by showers and thunderstorms and cooled by fresh breezes blowing in from the Atlantic. Winter begins in April, lasting until August or September, the exact time of change differing from year to year. This season is marked by continued rain, usually a soft, constantly falling drizzle or light rain, interspersed with heavy showers, as front after front moves in from the Atlantic, dropping its moisture before being pushed upward by the abruptly rising land which surrounds the Recôncavo. According to statistics for the years 1914 to 1938, the months of minimum rainfall are October, November, and December; during this time the average rainfall was 11.81 inches. The period of maximum rainfall is April, May, and June, with an average of 35.83 inches for the three-month period. The yearly average from 1914 to 1938 was 65.93 inches.[1] The temperature range is from 70 to 90 degrees Fahrenheit.

134 The soil of the Recôncavo, especially that of the sugar-Recôncavo, is extraordinarily fertile. It is a heavy black soil, known as massapé, approximately 6 inches to 2 feet thick, covering a clayey subsoil, known locally as taguá. Here and there are outcroppings of sand and mixtures of sand with clay.

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1. Atlas pluviometrico do Brasil (Rio de Janeiro, 1914-1938).

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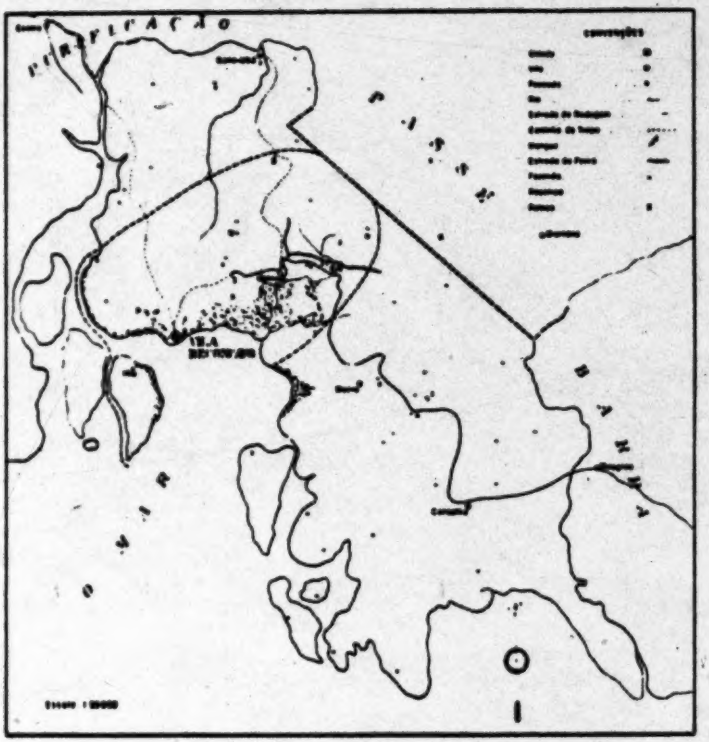

[P.12]

Map of the community of Vila Recôncavo

505 [291] The others, barefoot, wearing shorts and large-brimmed straw hats, are the permanent dwellers of the islands: fishermen, stevedores, and storekeepers.

505 133 [581] [226] When the islands are left behind, the scene begins to change. The color of the water changes from a clear, deep blue to a muddy gray. Groups of canoes are seen, their occupants busy with their fish nets, for this shallow part of the bay is a good fishing ground. Once again the mainland is close, rolling hills covered with a thousand shades of green--sugar cane, the crop which nearly four hundred years ago replaced the virgin forests. The deltalike shores of this part of the bay are covered with mangue, muddy areas with low-growing trees which at high tide are standing in the water. On a hill at the water's edge is the town of Vila Recôncavo, a town of 1,462 persons.[361] [162] The first thing one sees is the huge Franciscan convent[5] with its two tall towers and its royal palms. Approaching the long [368] dock which juts out into the water, one can see almost the [504] whole town, which is built on three hills and in the valleys between them.

[361] The arrival of the boat from Salvador every other day is an event in an otherwise dull day. Nearly all the men of the town 505 go down to the dock to meet the boat, to see who is traveling, 512 to see what is arriving for someone in the town, to receive messages or parcels, to greet friends, and to gossip. The postmistress is there, and with her the man whose duty it is to carry the mail sack, but who has a helper to do it for him. After a few minutes the boat continues its journey, and the townsfolk walk back along the dock, breaking up into small groups on reaching the main square and then each going his own way.

361 344 On the square at the end of the dock, at the foot of the main street which leads up the middle hill and out into the

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[128] 5. It should be explained that "convent" in this case is a direct translation from Portuguese. In Portuguese, convent does not have the connotation of being a religious establishment only for women. The word convento is applied to the Franciscans' establishment because the Franciscans are not monks; if they were, their establishment would be called a mosteiro (monastery). In English, Franciscans are known as "friars," and their houses are called "friaries." However, throughout this monograph the direct translation, convent, is used.

country beyond, is a large, colonial, two-story building--the county courthouse (prefeitura), the official center of local county administration. With heavily barred windows on the ground level, it also serves as the county jail. At the top of the hill is a large church, the mother church of the parish of São Roque. On the right, on top of another hill, is the imposing Franciscan convent. The main street of the town is narrow, paved with cobblestones and lined by old colonial houses in various stages of repair. To the left one sees the "beach," which at low tide is an expanse of ugly black mud, typical of the shores of this back part of the bay. The long dugout canoes of the fishermen are anchored there and rest on the bottom when the tide is out.

As the boat sails away and the townspeople go about their business, the streets empty, and a peculiar hush, which is characteristic of Vila Recôncavo, falls over the town. There is an atmosphere not so much of sleepiness and inertia as of decadence, as though life had already passed by. The few people who remain somehow seem to be left over from something in the past. The houses which face the main street are somber, their façades going straight up two stories from the street, their windows shuttered. Some of them are crumbling, the mortar falling away, exposing the stone of which they are built; others are in complete ruin. All of them are turning black from the constant exposure to humid salt air, and moss is growing on the walls where the sun never strikes.

From the top of the hill, in front of the mother church, there is a magnificent view of the Bay of All Saints, and it is easily understood why this place was chosen 332 years ago as the site for a new town. This part of town is the old Vila Recôncavo (see map of town), dating back to a time when the settlement was the only administrative center of inland colonial Bahia. Upon this hill and the one on which the convent stands, the elite of the sugar lands built their town houses called sobrados. Once upon a time these streets with their stepping-stones were the scene of colonial opulence, of sedan chairs carried by liveried slaves, of soldiers in uniform, of ladies wearing gloves and carrying parasols. Today this old part of Vila Recôncavo is inhabited by simpler people, the town's upper class, who eke out a living in the local bureaucracy, or as merchants, or as representatives of the state and federal governments. They are quiet, gentlemanly people trying to keep up a semblance of dignity, a feat which becomes more difficult all the time.

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Vila Recôncavo

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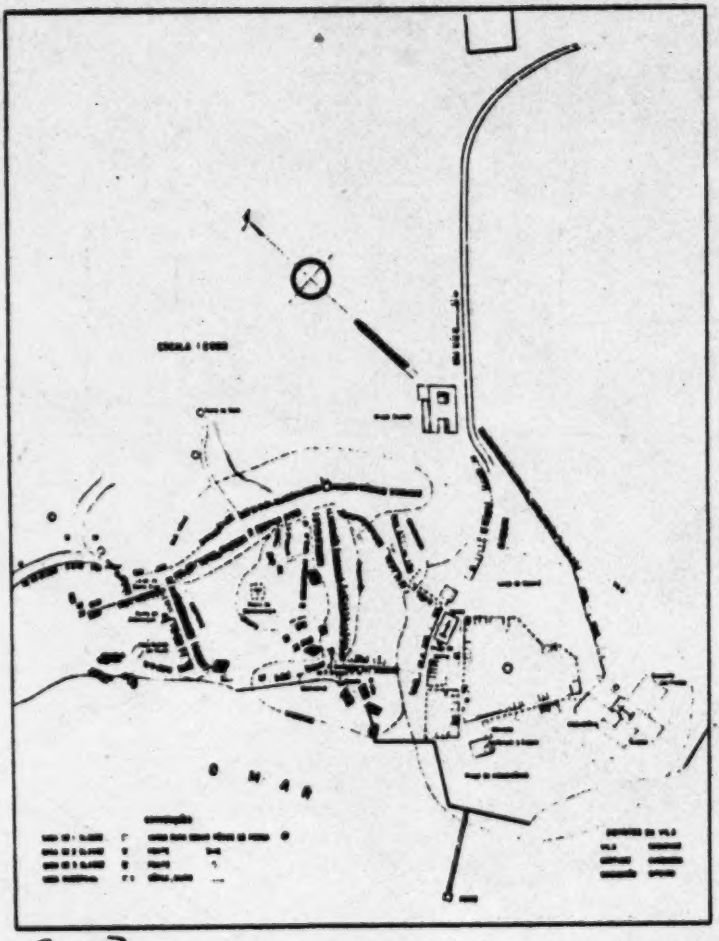

[P. 16]

Map of the town of Vila Recôncavo

To the west, on the third hill, along the "beach," and in the small valleys, there is a different atmosphere. Here, in the Caquende, Boqueirão, Cortume, and Rua Nova (see map of town), there are no sobrados, no signs of former grandeur. The houses are of another style--small, one-story buildings with no air of antiquity about them. Some are made of brick, but most are of mud on a bamboo or mangue frame. Many have been coated with whitewash, some recently and some a long time ago. On the summit of this third hill, the Oiteiro, are the poorest houses of all, one- and two-room mud houses with thatched roofs. Recently in this section there have been some new-style houses built, tipo bangalo (bungalow-type), and there are signs of a growing prosperity among a few enterprising people. These areas of fishermen, of small storekeepers, and of those with crafts such as carpentry, bricklaying, and shoemaking, are the most heavily populated parts of the town of Vila Recôncavo today. According to the old inhabitants of the town, this section was undeveloped sixty years ago, and, to the old people, Vila Recôncavo is still up there on the hill, in the area of the sobrados. Nevertheless, the majority of the stores are in the lower part of town, which even has its own chapel. It is here that the children play although they must go up the hill to school. It is here that there are groups of men gossiping and having a drink of rum. It is here that an attitude of open friendliness prevails, and there are friendly faces at the windows. It is here that the drums beat when the African gods are feted.

The post office, located in the upper part of town, also has a telegraph. Messages go by special telephone to the nearby town of Centro, from where they are sent by wire. There is also a public telephone in the town which has two extensions, one in the house of the mayor and one in the house of the doctor. Other people must go to the telephone office to make or receive calls. The telephone is very uncertain; not only is it frequently impossible to get a call through but often nothing can be heard once the connection is made. From the town it is possible to speak through Centro to Salvador. It is also possible to speak to the sugar factory, and through its switchboard to several of the sugar plantations.

In recent years electricity has been brought to the town, and, in addition to lights on the streets, 78 of the 408 buildings in town have electricity. Of these, twenty-one have radios, and three have electric irons. Only the doctor, the health post, and the bar have refrigerators.

The railroad from Salvador to the interior passes about 15 kilometers east of Vila Recôncavo, and the planters situated near it experience the same difficulties of horseback travel when getting the train to go to the city.

There is no public transportation within the county. The train is so far from the town of Vila Recôncavo that it is not used by the town dwellers. Most of the population walks to wherever it is going, except to Salvador. Few people in town have horses or mules, for there is insufficient pasture nearby. As a result of the poor roads, the townspeople are dependent upon water navigation, a factor which helps to orient them to other towns by the water's edge and discourages communication between the town and the plantations of the interior of the county. At any season, there is little happening in the plantation area to attract the townspeople. On the other hand, people from the plantation come to the town, especially to see the doctor, for a special Mass, or to take the boat to Salvador. They rarely come for the movie, except those few subsistence gardeners (roçeiros) who live nearby, for travel is too difficult. During the dry season almost all transportation of goods is accomplished by an ox-drawn cart (carro de boi) with two large, solid wooden wheels drawn by eight oxen (junta de boi). The cart is driven by a man, and the oxen follow a small boy who walks in front of them.

The community of Vila Recôncavo comprises an area of some 80 square kilometers in the shape of a semicircle, bounded on one side by water and on the other by a high ridge. This area, which includes the town of Vila Recôncavo, forms a natural as well as a cultural unit. The remaining 100 square kilometers of the county fall into two subregions, one very small area which is oriented toward Centro and Cana-Uba (see map), and another which is strongly oriented toward Salvador. The three areas are drawn together by local administration: police, school system, tax collecting, and the collection of statistics--in other words, by the formal structure of county administration.

The 80 square kilometers of the community of Vila Recôncavo are composed almost entirely of thirteen large plantations, eleven of which are devoted to the cultivation of sugar cane. Of the other two, one plants cane on a small scale and rents most of its land to subsistence gardeners, while the second is a summer home, producing nothing. Of the eleven which plant sugar cane, six belong to the sugar factory which

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*249 is located at the water's edge on one of the six plantations; three belong to different members of another family related to the sugar factory owners through marriage; one belongs individually to a member of the family owning the factory; and the last one belongs to a nonrelative, a mestiço (person of mixed racial descent), who is socially reticent but considered [871] an astute businessman. Within the area there is also a federal school which has a large expanse of noncultivated land.

361 The pattern of settlement on the plantations is that of a village. The homes of the cultivators are grouped in a cluster apart from the land they work, the point of orientation being the owner's home. "Although the village settlement as represented by the homes of the small-farming classes is hardly to be found in Brazil, the village manner of arranging the population on the land is widely used on the large estates that are prominent throughout the Brazilian countryside. For the most part the fazendas and usinas of Brazil utilized this nucleated form of settlement in their 'quarters' or 'colonies' for the workers who till the crops."[6]

162 The population of the rural zone of the community of Vila Recôncavo is 2,800, of whom 500 live at the sugar factory nucleus; on each of the sugar-cane plantations there are between *249 150 and 200 persons. Traveling about from one plantation nucleus to another, one sees no sign of habitation, for the country 311 is devoted to intensified sugar-cane cultivation. Fields of sugar cane, 10 to 20 acres in size, alternate with pastures--fields which are being rested for three or four years. Each private plantation has a section of forest to produce firewood and lumber. The factory plantations, however, for the most part are entirely cleared, as the corporation owns another plantation on the other side of the Recôncavo which is used ex-*249 clusively for raising and pasturing cattle and for supplying firewood for the large fires of the factory. Land divisions or [423] boundaries are generally long lines of graceful bamboo trees which also supply fence posts. On each plantation can be seen the remains either of the old sobrado or of the antique mill (engenho) or chapel (capela), and in some cases the sobrado is still in good repair and inhabited by the owner.

312 The Recôncavo is not blessed with abundant fresh water. The rivers are few and small, prone to dry up in the hot sum-

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6. T. Lynn Smith, Brazil (Baton Rouge, 1947), p. 396.

2: Hutchinson E-4, 8 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilian SO11

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county and among the first to fall into decline and extinction in the days following the sugar boom. The remaining buildings of the Order are now used for quite a different purpose, which will be discussed later.

The first half of the eighteenth century saw the final flourishing of Vila Recôncavo and the beginning of its fall into obscurity. By 1700 the town was a thriving urban center--the newly created seat of local government, a military post, a highly active religious center, and the scene of the local courts of justice. In addition to large public buildings, imposing private residences dotted the streets, for many of the plantation owners constructed large houses in the town, which they used as stopping places in their journeys to and from their plantations and Salvador. Then as now, however, Vila Recôncavo was not the main center of attraction for the planters and their families, most of whom had houses in the capital where they spent the rainy seasons. Nevertheless, the presence of their large and ornate town houses gave a certain air of distinction and prosperity to the town.

The story of the decline of the town of Vila Recôncavo is symptomatic of what happened to many other towns in the region at a later date. Vilhena connects the decadence of Vila Recôncavo with the creation of the administrative center of Centro in 1727.[7] Until that time Centro had been a sítio (terminal designation for a small town), created in 1608. Toward the end of the seventeenth century the best lands of the Recôncavo, situated in what is now the county of Purificação, came into use as a result of the cessation of Indian attacks and of improvement in the machinery used in the plantations. Sugar mills powered by water no longer held as great an advantage as they had previously; over a hundred years of sugar-cane operation had pretty well stripped the littoral of the firewood necessary for continued high production; and by this time the coastal regions no longer held room for expansion. As the colonists pushed farther inland from Centro they found an abundance of the rich massapé lands and sufficient firewood for the needs of many plantations, and soon the number of inland sugar mills surpassed that of the coast.

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7. Luís dos Santos Vilhena, Notícias soteropolitanas e brasílicas, 1802, ed. Braz do Amaral (Salvador, 1922), p. 502.

3: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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Centro, situated on the banks of a navigable river which empties into the Bay in front of the town of Vila Recôncavo, was in a good position to serve the entire back region of the Recôncavo. As a county it now comprises 1,180 square kilometers. As a port, Centro served two purposes in the early eighteenth century. A great deal of produce and many persons passed through it, including the families of sugar-cane growers from other regions of the Recôncavo; and it also served as a "gateway to the West" at a time when western Bahia and Minas Gerais were being opened and the gold and diamond rushes were in progress. Centro was the end of navigable waters and the beginning of one of the overland routes leading to the uplands of the sertão and the mining areas of the west. As Centro grew, Vila Recôncavo stagnated. In 1833 Centro was made judicial center (cabeça de comarca) of the district and Vila Recôncavo became part of this judicial district, thereby losing its prominence as the center of jurisdiction for the interior zone of the Recôncavo. Commercially, Vila Recôncavo was soon overshadowed by Centro. In 1802, Vilhena wrote:

> . . . In Centro there is a great deal of commerce, because of the amount of sugar, tobacco, and the number of distilleries and of Mineiros [miners and people from the state of Minas Gerais] who arrive there. Continuing along the bank of the river one finds Vila Recôncavo, which in spite of enough sugar passing through it, always had a weak commerce, and the town is known among all the others as the town of the least traffic.[8]

He says later:

In spite of its antiquity, Vila Recôncavo has few inhabitants, and most of them poor, although throughout the termo there are many good families of noble people, rich through the products of their large engenhos, from which they take much and excellent sugar, the only commerce of that town; in it also there is fishing for a little sardinelike fish called xangó and a large quantity of good and large shrimp, which is the main

8. Ibid., Letter 1, p. 32 (author's translation).

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1987 SO11 Bahia Brazilian SO11
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occupation of the poor people, who sell them after drying in the city of Salvador. . . .[9]

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In 1837 Centro officially became a city, and for another hundred years it was the major commercial point of the sugar-Recôncavo. Gradually, however, it fell into the same pattern of decline which continues today in so much of the Recôncavo. In the 1900's a railroad was constructed from Salvador to Feira de Santana; it passed well back of Vila Recôncavo, missing it so far as to be of no aid whatsoever. Although it passed through Centro, the terminal point, Feira, became more important commercially to the state and became the new gateway to the north, west, and south of the state and of the nation. Although Centro is now a large town with a population of some ten thousand people and a weekly market which attracts people from the countryside and the neighboring towns, this is not enough to sustain it. Its port is now comparatively little used for the export of sugar, which in most cases goes directly to Salvador by train from the factories.

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The immediate cause for the decay of the town of Vila Recôncavo, and to a great extent that of Centro and of so many other older towns, was the loss of functions after the period of frontier growth. Those towns which had been religious centers lost this function. Military posts were no longer needed, and administrative activities became more restricted as the counties were cut down in size and as the state and federal governments took over more functions, such as schools and health programs. Railroads and trucks have lately reduced the importance of the port towns. The rural towns no longer interest the wealthy rural aristocracy who always dominated and supported them. More rapid transportation has made it possible for this class to move about from plantation or factory to the town or the city and back in one day instead of three, thus removing the need for a town house in which to spend the night. Better transportation has also made it possible for the other classes to go to Salvador easily for shopping, medical purposes, festivals, and visiting. Thus Salvador, because of its nearness and the relative ease of transportation, has taken on many of the functions of the rural

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9. Ibid., Letter XIII, p. 501 (author's translation).

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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county seats, functions which they would still fulfill if they were farther removed from the state capital.

Finally, and perhaps most important of all, there has been a population shift in the last half century. New centers of population and industry have appeared in the Recôncavo, and there has been a refocusing of commercial activity but no accompanying administrative reform. The old towns, such as Vila Recôncavo, have remained as county seats to carry on administrative duties and the pretense of being the center of municipal activity. Official statistics indicate a great predominance of rural inhabitants in the Recôncavo. Actually, however, much of the population lives in towns. Although these centers are not officially called towns, their pattern of living is urban and not rural. For example, the district of Richão in the county of Purificação reported in the 1940 census 442 urban and suburban inhabitants, and 9,369 rural inhabitants. This gives no indication of the existence of a large factory town which contains almost nine thousand people.

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The older towns may in the long run prove to be more permanent than the newer centers, which for the most part are factory towns, for it is possible that some day in the future the factories may close, causing a complete dislocation. In the meantime towns such as Vila Recôncavo are left out of the new developments, without industry or commerce except what can be done on a small scale, such as fishing or the weekly market. Still known as the formal centers of their counties or districts, they retain their local bureaucratic functions.

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Until the second half of the nineteenth century, the county was the principal community organization, and the town of Vila Recôncavo was the major center of attraction for its county. However, because of developments in the sugar industry, this older community structure began to change. These developments, which will be described in the next chapter, had the effect of further isolating the town of Vila Recôncavo from the main streams of life revolving about the sugar industry, which has always been the major feature of life in the Recôncavo. New developments in the industry caused new community alignments, the end results of which have been to leave the formal administrative centers, such as the town of Vila Recôncavo, out of rural community life to a very great degree. In the next chapter the history of the rural area will be discussed, linking together the town and the rural area.

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* 249 the responsibility of holders to colonize and develop their areas. The grants were as a rule very large, consisting of leagues of land rather than of acres. Only one grant could be made to a family. As a result the son of a man who was a holder of a grant either had to remain on his father's land or had to leave the province and go elsewhere to acquire land. The only remaining alternative was to forget about land and go into commerce or a profession. However, since the grants were so very large, the original holders were able to break them up, selling or renting parts, giving some to their married sons or daughters and yet retaining and cultivating enough to support themselves. Thus the original land grants were broken up, and several plantations were made of each.

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313 Engenho was the name given to the total plantation, as well as being the specific designation for the mill itself. Every plantation, regardless of whether it was inland or on the coast, needed two things: the soil known as massapê, and woods as close as possible to the mill to supply firewood for boiling the sugar-cane juice. Firewood soon became a crucial problem, one which has haunted the sugar industry for centuries. Conservation never was a Brazilian practice, and the tropical forests of the Recôncavo were soon stripped to feed the hungry mouths of the furnaces. As time went on it became necessary to import firewood by boat from wherever it could be found, which added greatly to the costs of producing sugar. The steam mill came much later and added further to the problem.

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● 361 At first the owner's house was a veritable fort, surrounded by bulwarks and stockades to resist Indian attacks, but by the end of the seventeenth century the need for this precaution had passed away and the plantation houses were assuming noble proportions. Many were imposing two-story buildings built of stone and mortar, the ground level generally being used as a storehouse and the master (senhor de engenho) and his family living on the upper floor. As a rule the Big House of the Recôncavo was situated so that there would be an excellent view from the windows, not only of the mill and slave quarters nearby but of the surrounding countryside. There was no sight so dear to the heart of a plantation master as that of fields of sugar cane, the leaves of many shades of green waving gently in the breeze.

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[346] Frequently a chapel was connected with the house or built near it. Not very far away would be the mill, and nearby the

slave quarters. The entire unit formed a small village, for each plantation needed many specialists--carpenters, ironsmiths, bricklayers, coopers, sailors, fishermen, a barber, tailor, cowboy, chaplain--in addition to those whose trade was that of making sugar. In the morning the agricultural workers, cutters, and drivers went out to work in the fields, returning later in the day. Because of the size of the plantation and the number of its slaves--which frequently reached two or three hundred--the casa grande, settled among its royal palms and overlooking the mill, the slave quarters, the chapel, and other buildings, took on a distinct village appearance.

The owner and absolute ruler of these domains was the senhor de engenho, a title which became a symbol of wealth and later of nobility. The senhor de engenho dominated Bahia, and indeed all of the sugar-producing area of Alagoas and Pernambuco, for many years, socially and politically, until sugar was surpassed in importance by other crops and industries. Even much later, however, when sugar was less profitable and other activities surpassed it in economic importance to the nation, the plantation master was still a prominent figure, at least in northeastern Brazil.

Each unit was a complete entity in itself, with its sobrado, chapel, mill, slave quarters, slaves, cane fields, pastures, oxen, and forest land. The pattern for the Recôncavo plantation was set in the early years. Today many of the original boundary lines still exist, and the plantations have often kept their original names. In addition to cultivating several units of 700 to 1,000 acres within the land grant, the owner also often rented smaller parcels of land to lavradores--free individuals who with a few slaves cultivated a small amount of sugar cane which they sent to the plantation to be milled and made into sugar. These people were the nearest approach to small-scale farmers in the Recôncavo; however, they did not own their own land and were completely dependent upon the plantation master. There are many sad tales of small farmers who were cheated by the master and virtually became his slaves. They had to send their cane to his mill and often were told the cane was dry, or sour, or that less had been sent than they recorded. In all this it was necessary to take the word of the plantation's bookkeeper. There was no court of appeals--only the master, who represented law, order, and justice in the Recôncavo.

As time went on the aspect of the sesmaria was lost, and the plantation complex became the principal characteristic.

2; Hutchinson E-4, 8 (1950-1951) 1957 8011 Bahia Brazilians 8011
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4. Plantation Life

* 249 THE GOLDEN AGE of the sugar industry was typified by the 178 plantation complex, which was accompanied by a definite way of life. The final breakdown of this complex came at the end of the nineteenth century with the creation of the large central mill. Changes in the agricultural practices, however, have only begun to take place. Almost all the emphasis of change in the past was placed on the development of the technical aspects of processing the cane, and very little attention was given to the agricultural side of the industry.

* 249 Modern plantations continue to be relatively self-sufficient
• 361 units, just as the engenhos were. The factories brought al-
178 most no change in the land settlement patterns of the area.
[464] Since they were established on the site of former plantations, they did not create new nuclei; rather, they simply enlarged the old centers. Some of the former slave population moved to those factories which needed more workmen. But in subsequent years there was a gradual resettlement of the former slaves on the old plantations, in the same locations and even at times in the same buildings.

The disappearance of the small smokestacks of many plantation mills and the appearance of the more widely scattered but far larger ones of the factories, together with the appearance of networks of narrow gauge railways radiating out from the factories, mark the major changes in the landscape of the Recôncavo. The outlines of the new plantations and their boundaries remain much the same as they were a hundred or more years ago. The former small mills are frequently still used as workshops and sheds for the oxcarts.

600 The following discussion will examine one of the five pri-

[The Private Plantation]

côncavo. So far only the pai adão has been able to fulfill the plowing requirements. Lately, however, tractors with caterpillar tread have been introduced and, when used carefully with disk plows, have given excellent results. But the old standby is still commonly in use, hitched to eight, ten, twelve, or as many as twenty oxen.

The owner's house with its park stands on a small hilltop and is visible from afar because of its imperial palms. Nearby, on another hilltop, is the settlement of workers, a long street with houses on either side, the barracks, a small store, and the ever-present casa de farinha, the house where manioc is always being ground, pressed, and roasted to make the farina which is the staple food of the area. Also on this street is the overseer's house, which stands out from the others because of its large size and its veranda. The houses of the workmen are small and built for the most part under one long, common roof. Each house is really an apartment consisting of a front living room and a long corridor going back to the kitchen, with one or two bedrooms leading off the corridor. Other houses, under separate roofs, have similar interior arrangements. The roofs are of red tiles, the rest of the house of clay mud (taipa) slapped on both sides of a bamboo framework. After the mud has dried a coat of whitewash is applied. The houses are built and kept in repair by the plantation owner and do not belong to the workers. The floors are of beaten earth, difficult to keep clean. At night, when only a tiny oil lamp is burning, the houses look dark and gloomy.

After dark one has the impression of hearing much more than one can see. Kerosene is expensive to burn, no one reads, and most of life is geared to doing in the daytime those tasks which require light. At night the workmen and their families sit in the dark talking, or perhaps go to the casa de farinha where a fellow workman and his family may be grinding their manioc. This building is softly lit with kerosene lamps and there is a cheerful glow from the roasting fire. More recently the overseer's house has been equipped with electricity, and now it is always well lighted at night. His new radio has become a center of attraction and small groups form about his veranda, listening. At the other end of the street, during harvest time, there is always a bonfire in front of the barracks where the migrant workers are sheltered. On special occasions there may be a samba (dance), perhaps in the plantation owner's house. Then everyone dons his best and the

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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the factory is undergoing a reformation which will raise its capacity to over one hundred thousand sacks, and the legal capacity will be readjusted.

Usina São Pedro, although the smallest, is representative of the others and experiences the same problems and difficulties. It differs from some in that it is a family enterprise. The stockholders are nearly all members of the Conde family, and the operations are directed by two members of the family. The factory itself was one of the three built by the state government in 1900 on land controlled by the Navy,[5] on the edge of the Bay, which provides excellent year-round transportation facilities. The mill was acquired in 1909 by the Conde family with two plantations, to which the family has since added four other contiguous plantations. The corporation has a total area of slightly over four thousand acres, mostly of rich massapê soil. The factory receives cane from the plantation of Dona Sinhá, who is also a member of the Conde family by birth and by marriage. It also gets cane from four other plantations within the community and four outside the community, which send their cane by the traditional sailboat. In addition, the factory owns a 2,324-acre plantation in the county of Purificação which is used for grazing and raising cattle and for supplying wood for the factory fires. There is direct water transportation between the factory and the plantation in Purificação.

The designation usina has several meanings which are quite similar to the meanings of the older term, engenho. In its larger context, usina means the entire land-factory combination, including the mill and all the plantations belonging to the corporation. More specifically, usina means the factory building itself. In another context, usina simply indicates the population nucleus, including the factory, the owner's house, and the other buildings.

The usina or factory nucleus roughly follows the same settlement pattern of the old plantations. The point of orientation is the factory building, near which stand the chalet and other homes of the owning family, which are grouped together in a park of royal palms and mango trees. Usually a small chapel or oratory is included in one wing of the chalet, where

5. The shoreline bordering salt water is controlled to the depth of 33 meters by the Brazilian Navy.

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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• 361 a Mass can be celebrated for the family when a priest is available.

Situated nearest the chalet are the houses of the general overseer, the chief mechanic of the factory, the major office employees, and the director of the factory store. Next in order are the houses of the technical personnel of the factory. Behind them and farthest from the center are the homes of the agricultural workers who work on the plantation nearest the factory nucleus. The regional overseer of this plantation also lives among his plantation workers. The school and the store are located just outside the small park of the chalet.

[342] The chalet has replaced the former solar (mansion) of the
[177] plantation masters. Its style differs from the earlier type and its name is derived from the fact that it is a modified copy of a Swiss chalet. In a different way it is as ornate as the old solar, but more up-to-date, with running water and electricity.

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466 The personal, paternal aspect of the private plantation obviously cannot function on the usina, which has 1,350 people living on its lands. There is, nevertheless, an attempt at just such relations. The owning family spends vacations in the chalet. They also spend Christmas, Carnaval, and Botada[6] there, and at those times there are parties for the workers, Christmas presents for them and for their wives and children, dances, and ball games. The Coronel (Colonel, an honorary title now going out of use), the patriarch of the family, now incapacitated, still receives visits from the older workmen who used to have daily contact with him. His son and son-in-law, present directors of the enterprise, make their presence felt throughout the factory and the six plantations as best they can. As on the private plantation, the final arbitration of any difficulty lies with the usineiro, and no worker considers himself too far removed to go to him if he cannot get satisfaction from his overseer. However, the strongest relationships, both business and personal, lie between overseer and worker--employee and employee--rather than between employee and employer.

The private plantation presents a far better appearance than

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[788] 6. Botada is the annual blessing of the factory machinery, performed on the first day of the grinding season. It is a traditional ceremony formerly carried out on the plantations.

[Town Life]

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The majority of people in Group 1 live in the older part of Vila Recôncavo, often in the old colonial sobrados, and they rarely descend the hill to the part of town inhabited by the fishermen. Indeed, they mix little with people of the town, and there is almost no social life within the group itself. Parties are expensive, and visiting from house to house in the evening is not common. Vila Recôncavo has no such pastime as the evening walk in the square. This group is seldom united on anything, especially local politics; however, the more distant the question the more apt the group is to be of one mind. [361] • [574]

Most families in this group send their children to school in Salvador, go there on holidays whenever possible, receive the city newspaper and the Diario Oficial,[2] and shop in the city as often as they can. [871] [204] [443]

Vila Recôncavo differs in one respect from most other rural Brazilian communities: it has no parish priest. The mother church of the parish (matriz) has long been unable to support its own priest, and the duties which would normally fall to such a person are performed by the Franciscans, whose convent is in Vila Recôncavo. The priests remain within the convent, taking little or no part in the social life of the town. 793 [792]

It will be noted that there was no mention of a drug store in Vila Recôncavo. There was none until 1945, when a nonprofit organization, the Institute of Vila Recôncavo, was opened. This is a medical post supported by federal, state, municipal, and private funds; its director is Friar Innocence, a Franciscan lay brother. The institute is housed in the spacious old buildings of the extinct Third Order of Franciscans, and consists of a pharmacy, an infants' milk and soup distributing center, a maternity post, a dental post, and other medical facilities. The dentist, who has modern equipment, is competent in his work. For several years a doctor was in daily attendance, dividing his time between the institute and the petroleum workers' camp. As a result of a complicated local political conflict, he left the institute, however, and Friar Innocence arranged for a visiting doctor to come from Centro and spend two days a week in Vila Recôncavo. Three town girls were sent to Salvador to study nursing and midwifery, so there is competent medical assistance. 743 [444] [792] 743 759

2. The Diario Oficial is the newspaper in which government laws and regulations are published. As a rule, it is the publication of a regulation which makes it become a law.

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[Town Life]

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the icehouse where the shrimp are kept cool; they can then be sent to Salvador every other day on the boat to be sold as fresh shrimp at the market and on the streets. "Camarão da Vila," (shrimp from Vila) the cry of the Salvador street peddlers, is well known throughout the capital city.

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The majority of people in Group 2 live down the hill from the older part of town, near the beach or out along the road which leads to the factory. They are more or less dependent upon Group 1, not only for the money they receive in return for services, but also for many kinds of favors which fall under the heading of patronship. They are seldom able to employ the services of Group 3 for such jobs as house building or repairing; they must rely on an old form of cooperative labor, called the batalhão (work group), to make or repair a house wall or to put on a new thatch roof. Frequently a patron will arrange for another of his "dependents" to transport the mud necessary for the palm thatch (taipa), and there is no cost involved for the recipient; but she must arrange the labor.

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The people of Group 2 fetch their own water from the wells, and usually their own firewood from the tideswamps. There are several men and women in town who make a business of carrying these two commodities. Such work is contractual. A household contracts for so many cans or barrels of water a day and so many loads of firewood a week. If they do not have enough money for these services they must carry them out themselves. During the dry summer months fetching water is a tedious business, for the majority of the wells dry up early in the summer. In the very dry summer of 1950-51, all the wells in town but one went dry. The one which continued to supply water did so at a much diminished rate. This well is completely encased in cement, for it provides the only drinking water in town. There is a small pipe serving as a spigot. During the dry season it takes from ten to twenty minutes to fill a five-gallon tin can from this pipe. As a result, there were always long lines of women waiting for water, and a sojourn of three or four hours at the well was common. Many of the more ambitious women used to get up at two or three in the morning and go to the well, making several trips so they would be free of this onerous duty during the day. This, however, took a great deal of courage, for most people in Vila Recôncavo are afraid of the dark, and no timid woman would make the trip out to the well at night. By general agreement, the men who carry water in barrels on donkeys walked

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following days to make new supplies. On the return trip she brings wheat flour, peanuts, potatoes, and whatever is not available in Vila Recôncavo, as special orders (encomendas) for people in the town, who pay the price of the article plus a small percentage for her trouble in doing the shopping.

The people of Group 3 do most of their own labor; the men follow their trade while their womenfolk do the housework, care for the children, fetch water and firewood, and do their own laundry. This group also uses the batalhão for house building and repairing, although many employ the services of a carpenter to do the woodwork or a bricklayer to make a foundation, in contrast to the people of the preceding group, whose houses are usually built with a minimum of crude woodwork and without masonry foundations. The majority of men in this group, the fishermen, live in the lower part of town, in the areas known as Boqueirão, Caquende, and Cortume (see map of town). The others are scattered throughout the town, up the hill in back of the area of sobrados, and on the side of the hill sloping down to the beach. The fishermen have their own chapel built near the beach, which they support with the tithe (dizimo), a tenth of their earnings. The people in the fishing group seldom go up the hill to the older part of town, feeling that they do not belong there.

A few words need to be said about Group 4, which consists of thirty-one people who do not fit into the other three groups. Eleven of them, who listed themselves as unemployed, are unskilled persons, without a trade, and without a patron or service employment skill. For the most part they are women, and although an examination of the census data shows that they have no visible means of support, they do engage in subsistence activities such as carrying water, cutting spits for xangó, making dendê palm oil, or making fish nets, but not on a regular contract basis. Since they engage in a variety of small independent activities and work for different people at different times, they listed themselves as unemployed in the sense of being without a regular occupation.

Nine people in Group 4 lived in the town at the time of the census but worked at the Usina São Pedro. Three men worked on the sugar plantation nearest town, preferring to live in town rather than on the plantation, since the trip back and forth is so short. And, finally, the group includes eight people who were employed by the Institute of Vila Recôncavo as nurses, pharmacists, bookkeeper, and bartender. These people

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they are generally conceded to be so by the field hands and the members of classes A and B, because their occupations are more specialized and they work in the mill. There are actually several factors which distinguish them from the field laborers, for in addition to receiving protection by national legislation, including minimum salaries and rights to vacations and medical services, they receive from the factory electric light for their houses and firewood. In addition, factory workers do not plant gardens to supply their farina, and they consider themselves far superior to the agricultural laborers in that their own wives "do not use the hoe" (nao pegam na enxada).

At the factory nucleus where both millworkers and the agricultural laborers of one plantation live in the same place, the houses of the former are grouped in the middle of the village, clustered about the owner's chalet, while those of the latter are on the fringes, farther from the usineiro's house, the mill, and the large store. The factory workers' houses are better constructed than those of the field laborers. They are mostly of brick with tile roofs, while the field workers' homes are often of wattle-work covered with plaster and painted over. The houses of the factory nucleus follow the old slavequarter pattern. The buildings are long and narrow and divided into apartments under one roof. The factory owns all the houses, which the workers receive rent-free. The factory worker is better paid than the field worker, and consequently has more and better material possessions. His house is better furnished, and he dresses better.

Illiteracy is widespread in the rural area. The factory nucleus has had a state primary school for thirty years, and Pedras, the largest of the factory plantations, has had one for about twenty. As a result the factory workers, as well as the people of Pedras, have had the opportunity to attend four years of primary school. The rural laborers on other plantations, however, have lacked this opportunity in most cases. An exception is the Fazenda das Moças, which has had a school in recent years, for children in the daytime and for adults at night.

The social life of the workers is almost entirely confined to the place in which they live. Their lives are spent on the plantation except for the days when they walk to the fair in Centro, usually on the Monday following payday. During the summer, when the roads are good for travel, they are busy with the

harvesting and milling. The factory operates twenty-four hours a day during this season. In the winter, when they have more leisure, travel is too difficult, for the roads disappear in mud. Few of the rural people go to the town of Vila Recôncavo, for it has nothing to attract them except the boat to Salvador and the priest, whom they sometimes visit to have a Mass said or for a burial. The free movies recently innovated by the Petroleum Council and located a mile from the factory have been a boon to the rural people, but as a rule only the men attend. In fact, almost any kind of off-plantation gathering is attended predominantly by men.

On most plantations the casa de farinha is a social gathering place, and both males and females congregate there to talk about the latest news while they work. The women also gossip at the local well as they fetch water or remain there washing their clothes. Their everyday lives are busy, and there is little time for purely social activities. The day begins and ends early. Soon after dark the lights go out, the houses close, and silence reigns except for the noise coming from the casa de farinha, which may operate all night, or the lonesome singing of the caatingueiros housed in the barracks, or the strong rhythmic sound of the drums coming from a distant candomblé ceremony. Because there is little work for women on a plantation, the "extra" girls, those for whom there are no potential husbands, ask the planter to get them work as domestics in the city; this is usually easy, for there is nearly always someone in Salvador looking for a "good, strong country girl" to work in the home. Occasionally, if a worker's son is especially intelligent and industrious, he too may be placed in some position in the city.

Class C comprises the majority of the population in the town of Vila Recôncavo and includes most of the occupations listed in Group 3 of the preceding chapter--that is, fishermen, gardeners, and artisans. There are no "pure whites" in this class, but, as in the rural area, a few "whites of the land" and the full range of mestiços, whose various color and social characteristics will be discussed later. The people of Class C live for the most part in the lower section of town, in the areas called Cortume, Largo de Santa Cruz, Rua Nova, Boqueirão, Cumbamba, and Caquende. The great majority of them own their homes, although the land belongs to the Fazenda Engenho da Vila, to the church, or to the prefeitura, and is rented for a small yearly sum. The houses are small, usually

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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plaint about African deities is the amount of work involved and the great expense entailed by making the proper clothes and buying the beads and bracelets. All leaders say that no one can afford traditional spirits these days. Those who had formerly had them, of course, still do, but have also been visited by Indian spirits which they much prefer. So they carry out the more fundamental obligations toward the African spirits, such as providing food and drink, but they dress and dance for their Indian spirits. The result has been a confusion of rituals--the use of African music and incantations and the addition of new dances, costumes, and foods appropriate for the simpler tastes of the Indian spirits.

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The cult houses (terreiros) are built like other houses in the community. The active one in town is located on a street in line with all the other houses, while that on the plantation is set slightly apart from the others, because of the scattered configuration of the village. The front room, which is the largest, is usually bare except for a few long wooden benches and a small altar with pictures of the patron saints of the cult leader and of several of the cult members. This room is decorated with crepe paper streamers and paper flowers; the dances are held here. The other rooms of the house consist of a bedroom, a dining room, a kitchen, and another room known as the pegi, which houses the African altar with its plants and leaves, dishes, bottles, cups, and glasses of food and drink for the spirits, as well as the symbol of each one of them, such as a spade, a sword, or a hatchet. In this room there is also usually a trunk containing the ceremonial paraphernalia used during the festivities, such as the dress and headdress of each spirit. This is the room in which sacrificial killings (matanças) are made of the goats and chickens used during the ceremonies. In the rural house there are also pictures of Catholic saints in the pegi, another departure from the older traditional houses where such a thing would never occur.

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The cult leader lives in the cult house. In the literature on candomblé the cult leader is usually referred to as the mae, or pai, de santo, which means literally "mother (or father) of the saints." None of the cult leaders in Vila Recôncavo likes this term; they say they could not possibly be the mother or father of the divine beings. They consider themselves rather zeladores, that is, caretakers of the saints on earth. There is much the same complaint about the term filha, or filho, de

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begun to live together. But it is a general policy of Petrobrás that its employees establish regularized households and register their children, as the benefits of social legislation and insurance must be paid to legal beneficiaries, such as wives and children. Because of the many recent marriages, there are no longer any houses available in Vila Recôncavo, nor in Milagres, and there has been a spurt of housebuilding.

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There have also been some shifts in emphasis in the structure of the community. While the factory nucleus is no longer the scene of social gathering for the upper class of the area, the structure of the factory-private plantation system ensures that it continues to be the economic center as long as sugar cane is being planted in the area. The system of quotas established for the private planter and the factory by the Institute of Sugar and Alcohol requires that planter and factory cooperate in supplying and receiving sugar cane. Also, the physical structure of the area, in which the factory is the center of the network of a small railroad which reaches out to each of the private properties, strengthens the impression of the factory as the center of activities.

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The possible future shift from sugar to cacao will of course diminish the importance of the sugar factory. However, in the meantime there is a new factor which will give more importance than ever to the factory: a feira, or market place. The county of Vila Recôncavo does not have a weekly market. For many years the county officials have wanted to establish one, not only for increased municipal income, but also to help attract more people to the area and to make life easier for the population. A market place is now under construction at the factory nucleus. When the market is completed, the factory town will become at least a weekly center of attraction for many people of the surrounding plantations.

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The development of the petroleum industry is bringing new life to the town of Vila Recôncavo, to the nearby town of Milagres, and to the new city of Conselho. Petrobrás cannot develop a nucleus on the land which belongs to the factory or to the private owners, and therefore it must concentrate any local community building efforts in the old public towns which already exist. Petrobrás, indirectly, through the county court of Vila Recôncavo, will soon contribute considerably to the county income. The same sort of compensation which was worked out in regard to the planters is now being arranged for the county, through taxes on the finished products from

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ties between Negroes and whites on these colonial plantations. All writers have mentioned the frequency of sexual relations between the white plantation owners and their female slaves. Slavery was not a humane institution in Brazil or elsewhere, but in Brazil relations between the slave and the master were of a more personal nature than in other regions where slavery existed in the New World.

By the middle of the last century, the West Indies and other regions of the world were competing with the Brazilian north-east for the world sugar market; and the abolition of slavery in 1888 caused difficulties of labour supply on these plantations. The sugar industry no longer provided the great wealth that it had in the past, and many of the old plantations were abandoned or sold to large commercial companies who installed modern equipment for large-scale sugar production. Plantation slaves became wage labourers, and the old traditional patterns of behaviour between the Negro slave and the white plantation-owning aristocrat began to disappear, to be replaced by an impersonal employee-employer relationship in keeping with the new way of life. Yet many patterns persist from the days of the old plantation system. Many of the descendants of the aristocratic plantation owners try to preserve the old traditions. They are proud of their family names, and large aristocratic families are still important in the economic and social life of the region. In many rural localities, there are still plantations where the relations between the workers and the owners are highly personalized, as they were in the past, and where customs and traditions formed during the period of opulence and slavery continue, if modified, by modern conditions. Throughout this part of Brazil, the relations between people of different racial groups have been influenced by the large proportion of Negroes in the population, by the importance of slavery in the relatively recent past, and by the particular form which the relations between the Negro slave and the European master took on the plantations.

11. The community with which the present article is concerned is called Vila Recôncavo; it is a real town situated in the zone known as the Recôncavo which surrounds Salvador, the capital of the State of Bahia, and which borders on the Bay of All Saints, extending inland from the shores of the bay some 30 miles on the northern side, and considerably less on the southern side. The Recôncavo was characteristic of the whole north-eastern plantation region. The Portuguese who settled in Salvador in 1549 recognized the value of these lands around the new city and the Bay of All Saints for sugar production. The third governor of Bahia, Mem de Sá (1557–74),

In the very large *usinas*, the mill hands and even the field hands are modern industrial workers. They are employees of a large industrial corporation and are protected at least theoretically by the labour laws of the nation. The highly personalized relationship between the plantation workers and the owner-administrator of his own plantation, which persisted from the slave era, has been replaced on the larger *usinas* by the impersonal employee-employer relationship of the modern industrial age. Today, modern plantations and small towns have electricity; there is modern housing for workmen; the State and even the sugar companies provide medical aid; there are primary schools both in the small towns and on many plantations; recreation facilities are found in the towns and provided by the *usinas*; and the sugar-cane experimental station situated in the area constantly urges fertilization of the land and modern techniques and methods of sugar-cane production. But the older and more traditional patterns exist side by side with the new, and each of them influences the relations among the racial groups of the zone.

III. Vila Recôncavo is a small town on the Bay of All Saints. The rural area around it, which lies within the social and economic orbit of the town and which is the unit under consideration, comprises some 80 square kilometres, or slightly less than half the entire area of the county of which the town of Vila Recôncavo is the county seat.[1]

It this area there are 14 plantations, three of which nowadays plant very little sugar cane. Parts of the town itself are built on the land of one of these plantations, and the rest of the town area is owned in small lots by private individuals or by the Church. Although Vila Recôncavo is the county seat, local government is the only important function which it fulfils for the surrounding area. It is not used as a shipping point, either for receiving supplies from the outside or for sending sugar to the outside. *Braços do mar*, or inlets of the bay, go to many of the plantations and are deep enough for the *saveiros* (shallow draft sailboats) used on the bay for transport. Many of the plantations have direct connexion with Salvador. Commerce in Vila Recôncavo is almost entirely limited to supplying the 1,462 inhabitants of the town and of some small islands and of one community near by which is not devoted to sugar production. It is not the major supply source even for these groups which live near enough to another and far larger commercial centre where they prefer to do their marketing. The *prefeito* or mayor of the county is rarely a resident of the town itself. Rather he is usually a planter of the surrounding area. He goes into town to do municipal business,

[1] Both the town and the county bear the name of Vila Recôncavo.

The other important occupation is fishing and there is the new petroleum industry. In Vila Recôncavo, bureaucracy plays a large part in the economics of the urban upper-class. The municipal secretary, the statistics agent, the federal and state tax collectors and their clerks, the postmaster and various other 'white collar' positions belong to this small group. Often members of the municipal government divide their attention between commerce (owning small stores) and their government jobs. Despite its long history and rather easy communication with the large city of Salvador, Vila Recôncavo is still an isolated community. After landing in the town from the regular steamer coming from Salvador, one must proceed inland either by foot or by animal. The only motor vehicles in the community area (except for those of the petroleum industry) are a truck and a delivery-type pick-up truck owned by the São Pedro *usina*. One hears from all classes that the town is backward, abandoned and dead. It has had a glorious past: wealth, the large and beautiful *sobrados* of the barons who were *donos dos engenhos* (owners of the *engenhos*), two beautiful churches, a national guard post with almost 1,000 soldiers stationed in it, a record of bravery and leadership in the war for Independence in 1822, and a place worthy of a visit from the emperor, Don Pedro II. Today the *sobrados* are in ruins, or have disappeared completely, as today's *donos dos engenhos* remain on their plantations or in the city, forsaking the town. The military have gone, the splendours of the religious feast-days are no more. Vila Recôncavo is representative of the decadence which has overtaken the entire area. Today it is known only for its *xangô* and shrimps.

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IV. In the United States an absolute 'line' is drawn between white and Negro. A person who is not white is a Negro, however small the percentage of Negro blood may be. In Vila Recôncavo, this 'line' is recognized rather than drawn. A distinction between Negro and white is always kept in mind when classifying an individual. Everyone knows who is 'pure' white and who is not. Classification by race is one of the most important aspects of local culture, and one of the most difficult aspects for the outsider to grasp. *Bahianos* of the Recôncavo feel that one may instantly recognize the difference between a 'pure' white and a mixed white-Indian, white-Negro or Negro-Indian, but they do not let it go at that. They classify or minutely describe each person; they classify according to skin colour, according to hair form and according to facial features, and their classifications or racial types are used in everyday conversation. Just as it would be said in the United States that someone is short and fat, the people of Vila Recôncavo will describe a person's colour and hair.

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tion of the Negro woman in relation to the other women. She was chosen in first place in only one instance, namely as best worker, and only by the Negroes. In spite of the fact that in Table I the mulatto woman was considered the most attractive, she was chosen so only by the mulattoes. The other three racial types selected the *caboclo*

TABLE II.

Question	Chosen in first place by			
	Negroes	Mulattoes	Whites	Caboclos
Most attractive man	P	B	B	B
Most attractive woman	C & B	M	B	B
Most wealthy man	P	C	C	C
Most wealthy woman	B	B	B	B
Best worker, man	P	C	P	P
Best worker, woman	P	C	M	C
Most honest man	C	C	C	C
Most honest woman	C	C	C	C
Most religious man	C & M	C	C	C & B
Most religious woman	C	C	B	C

(P—*preto*; B—*branco*; C—*caboclo*; M—*mulato*. Where two racial types are in first place, they received an equal number of 'votes'.)

and the white woman. In summing up the total number of 'votes', the mulatto woman won by a narrow margin (four votes). It is interesting to note that the Negroes chose the *preto* man as the most wealthy, putting the caboclo in second place, while the other three racial types put the *caboclo* first.

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VI. There is a saying in the Recôncavo that where there was sugar, there were Negroes. This rule of thumb seems to hold remarkably well even today. On the islands in the bay where there never were *engenhos*, there are few *pretos*. In the town of Vila Recôncavo, and in a small settlement to the west of Vila Recôncavo where there never was an *engenho*, there are relatively few *pretos*, in comparison with the area of *engenhos* and plantations. The region as a whole can be shaded off in dark and light, to distinguish roughly the spatial arrangement according to colour. In the areas where there was and is sugar, there are many more *gente branqueada* (whitened people) than in the non-plantation areas.

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These lightened areas seem to continue to lighten, while the darker areas retain their dark characteristics. In Vila Recôncavo, which is a *mestiço* community, there is much more opportunity for

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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races, and the ensuing termination is perhaps most clearly discernible.

Bahia lies in the tropics of the Southern Hemisphere, approximately thirteen degrees south of the Equator, her naturally warm and humid climate almost constantly tempered by the refreshing Southeast Trades. Located seven hundred miles above Rio de Janeiro, the Brazilian capital, and four hundred miles below the old sugar center of Pernambuco, Bahia marks approximately the mid-point of Brazil's four thousand miles of coast line which stretches from temperate Uruguay to the torrid Guianas. Some twenty-five hundred miles to the northeast lie the Gold and Slave coasts of Africa, once the home of the parents or grandparents of many present-day Bahians; directly to the east is Angola, another important source of the city's population.

In 1949 Bahia will celebrate her four hundredth anniversary. As cities go in the New World, she is an old city; in fact, one of the very oldest. Permanently founded fifty-eight years before Jamestown and thirty-five years earlier than St. Augustine, this outpost of Portuguese civilization was one of the world's richest ports long before New York had outgrown her swaddling clothes.

Here, shortly after 1500, set in the Portuguese transplantation, at first composed of adventurers, shipwrecked and deserting sailors; *degredados* banished from Portugal for criminal, political, or religious offenses; ambitious young men chosen for physical fitness and freedom from marital ties to serve in the colonial garrison; impoverished nobles seeking to recuperate fortunes squandered at the Portuguese court; a few officials, Jesuits, and secular clergy; Jews expelled by the Inquisition (who incidentally were to furnish a considerable portion of the much-needed capital for the

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4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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in 1822, in the politics of the Empire, a role similar to that assumed by Minas Geraes, São Paulo, and Rio Grande do Sul in the Republic following 1889. In fact, she has been called "the Brazilian Virginia." Until 1907 Bahia was also the religious center of the Brazilian nation. Her archbishop was the head of the Roman Catholic church in Brazil, and the religious orders maintained here their principal representatives. Thus in the economic, political, and religious life of Brazil, Bahia boasts a long tradition of distinction and prestige.

The present city is about the size of Indianapolis or Seattle.[6] It nestles along the eastern rim of a huge bay, Bahia de Todos os Santos. The bay is formed by the projection out into the ocean of Cape Santo Antonio, which, on its western side, breaks rather sharply almost at the water's edge, exposing a bold promontory approximately three hundred feet in height which parallels for some two to three miles the rim of the bay. The city clings to the narrow shelf between the bay and the cliff and then sprawls up over this sizable barrier and spreads out along the ridges and into the valleys to the east and north, where centuries of erosion have carved a one-time flat plain into alternating crests and steep-sloping depressions.

Bahia is thus divided by a natural barrier into a lower and an upper city, into a Cidade Baixa and a Cidade Alta, as the two parts are locally called; the one connected with the other by steep, winding streets paved with cobblestones, by inclined planes and modern hydraulic elevators, or by numerous well-worn footpaths. In the lower city lies, of course,

[6] An estimate by the state government gave for the city of Bahia on December 31, 1934, a population of 352,244 (*Annuario estatistico da Bahia, 1934*, p. 131). The federal census of 1920 gave for Bahia City 283,422 (*Recenseamento do Brasil, 1920*, Vol. IV: *População*, Book I, p. xxiv).

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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As one moves interior from the Reconcavo into the *sertão*, the Negro contribution to the population tends to decrease and the Indian contribution, much mixed with both white and Negro, to increase. Both on the moderately watered plateaus and river basins, chiefly devoted to cattle-raising and light farming and occasionally covered with virgin or second-growth timber, as well as in the sandy, dry, and hot *caatinga* country of the semiarid zones, one finds a frontier society which is relatively isolated and has been only slightly modified during recent decades by contact with the outside world.[8]

Thus, in this particular area of intimate racial and cultural contact where the Negro and his descendants have been fated to work out a rather picturesque career, one will find three distinct types of settlement and population. In the *sertão*, or interior, is a highly mixed stock to whose composition the Indian has contributed in greater proportion probably than either the Negro or the European. In the Reconcavo, with its tradition of a departed rural aristocracy, a disintegrated plantation system, and a long history of slavery, the population is still principally negroid. While in the city of Bahia itself the people are largely of mixed European-African origin, individuals of either pure European or pure African descent being clearly in the minority.

In the city also, the social order is still relatively stable. There has been in recent times little change. Bahia is, as we have seen, a comparatively old city, conscious of its traditions and proud of them. Conventions originally developed

[8] Euclydes da Cunha's *Os Sertões* (12th ed.; Rio, 1933) gives a vivid and dramatic account of life on the *sertão*. Although written in 1902, it is still timely. R. B. Cunningham-Graham's *A Brazilian Mystic* (New York, 1925) is based upon this more detailed account.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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struggle of native labor versus foreign capital and thus tend to unify rather than to divide the local group. Religious competition has not become severe enough to intensify self-consciousness on the part of rival adherents and thus evoke serious animosities. As far as national affairs are concerned, intense local loyalties had not, at least at the time this study was made, been seriously exacerbated by onerous control from without. A minimum of racial conflict will be evident throughout this account.

THE *ricos* OF THE RIDGES AND THE *pobres* OF THE VALLEYS

One of the things Darwin noted, when he visited Bahia in 1832, was that the city rested upon "a level plain of about three hundred feet in elevation, which in all parts has been worn into flat-bottomed valleys."[11] Today the scene is still much as Darwin saw it. Continuing erosion has merely emphasized the general characteristics of the landscape, transforming the once level plain somewhat more decidedly into alternating ridges, relatively steep declivities, and comparatively narrow valleys.

This physiography of the country has not been without significance in the cultural life of Bahia; for, in general, the distribution of the population by classes, and even to some extent by ethnic divisions, follows quite closely the lay of the land. Along the ridges, which wind with the changing terrain, ordinarily run the principal streets, bearing the chief lines of transportation, whether by streetcar, bus, or automobile. So far as accessibility to the center and other principal parts of the city is concerned, here are the more convenient residential locations. The elevation of the ridges,

[11] Charles Darwin, *The Voyage of the Beagle* ("Harvard Classics," Vol. XXIX [New York, 1909]), p. 521.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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permitting as it does a full and unobstructed sweep of the cooling sea breeze, makes these heights more comfortable, more healthful, and, consequently, more desirable places of residence. One usually finds here the more modern and substantial buildings, the homes of the upper classes. Here ordinarily live the scions of the old aristocracy, the large landholders, the city's intellectuals, and the leaders of its "society"; the lawyers, physicians, engineers, and politicians; the officials of the army, the poets and journalists, the professors in the Faculdades, the few industrialists which Bahia has so far produced—in fact, nearly all those prominent in the intellectual, political, "social," and economic life of the city. These families possess considerable property and employ numerous servants. Their members are usually literate, and at least the males are *formados* (i.e., graduated from one of the Faculdades, either in law, medicine, or engineering), a distinction which in the Bahian society marks them off quite sharply from the rest of the population.

It is in these areas that the five newspapers published in the city circulate almost exclusively and the latest fashions from Paris or Hollywood are known and generally adopted. In recent years an occasional example of modernistic architecture and interior design has appeared. Here are to be found the owners of virtually all the city's 3,855 telephones, its 1,028 automobiles, its radios, and private libraries. Here live most of the 20,524 voters who cast ballots in the municipal election of 1936. Here attachment to the *candomblé*, or Afro-Brazilian fetish cult, is minimal and Catholic belief is least modified by elements from the more primitive religions. Here live that portion of the population which *o povo* ("the people") call the *ricos*, or the "rich."

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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The valleys, on the other hand, afford less comfortable, less healthful, less convenient, and, consequently, less expensive residential locations. Here the regularly laid out streets and paving disappear. The inhabitants get about by way of footpaths, the red clay of which becomes slippery after a tropical downpour and quite treacherous on the steeper slopes. Here live the lower classes. Dwellings are simple mud huts constructed of a sapling framework over which puddled clay has been spread and allowed to dry. If the owner's income has permitted, the rough exterior of the dwellings has been smoothed off and a lime wash in pale tints of pink, blue, green, or yellow added. The floor is commonly of earth, neatly sanded at regular intervals with fresh *areia* from the seashore. The roof of such dwellings is usually of palm fronds and may be slightly raised at the gable to permit the more ready exit of smoke from the housewife's fire. The furniture ordinarily consists of rude benches or stools, perhaps a cheap chair, a rough table, and cots, or, more commonly, straw mats for sleeping. A Standard Oil Company can whose top and bottom have been removed is used for a stove. Furnishings include an unpretentious niche with a small image of the family's patron saint, a candle, perhaps an almanac, and a rude iron support for washbasin and pitcher of water. Utensils are usually of baked clay and quite simple in design.

In respect to economic level, education, and, to some extent, religion, the inhabitants of these lower-class areas diverge widely from those of the ridges. They are usually illiterate, although some of the children are now being enrolled in government-sponsored schools. Communication is ordinarily by word of mouth, seldom by newspaper, book, or telephone. Conversation is carried on in the Portuguese

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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to vulgar persons"), "não faça caso de gente baixa" ("don't mind low people"), "não dê attenção á gentinha" ("don't pay any attention to common people"), and "não se incommode com a gente baixa" ("don't trouble yourself about common people"). Of themselves, the upper classes use the rather general expressions *as altas rodas* ("the upper circles"), *grand monde*, and the "élite."

The lower classes refer to the upper classes as *os "chefões"* ("the big shots"), *os donos da gente* ("the owners of the people"), *os grandes graudos* ("the illustrious great"), *os manda-chuvas da cidade* ("the rainmakers of the city"; i.e., those who can do anything), *ricaços* ("the plutocrats"), or merely *os brancos* ("the whites").

Although this rather simple pattern in which ridges and valleys appear as contrasted residential areas is, in general, characteristic of the entire city, it is modified in a few minor instances. The upper-class suburb of Barra, for example, lies low on the seacoast, albeit well swept by the refreshing sea breeze; while the ridges (as well as the valleys) in the less accessible areas outside the main portion of the city are covered with the huts of the lower class. In the old outmoded four-to-seven-story buildings (relics of Bahia's former splendor), which hedge about the central portion of the city and lie either on top, or well up toward the top, of the central ridges, are crowded together in something approaching slum conditions hundreds of the city's poor.[11] But in general the pattern of the city conforms quite closely to that which has been described.

As one moves about the different residential areas, he

[11] For an intimate glimpse into the life of this latter area see Jorge Amado, *Suor* (2d ed.; Rio, 1936). The locale of these interesting sketches is an old building at No. 68 on the Pelourinho which fronts on the triangular *praça* where the old slave whipping-post used to stand.

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notes that this segregation by economic and educational classes conforms in a general way, although with certain important exceptions, to the differences in color in the population. In fact, Bahia on initial acquaintance seems not unlike a medieval city surrounded by African villages.[13]

Thus, in general, one may say that the whites and the lighter mixed-bloods ordinarily occupy the more comfortable, more healthful, more convenient, and hence more expensive ridges of the city; while the blacks and darker mixed-bloods usually reside in the less convenient, less healthful, hence cheaper, low-lying areas, and the outlying, less accessible regions called locally *suburbios*. In other words, the ridges of the *ricos* correspond in the main to the residential areas of the whites and of the lighter *mestiços*, while the valleys and the outlying sections of the *pobres* correspond in large measure to the residential areas of the darker portion of the population. On the outskirts of the city, such sections as Matta Escura, Engenho Velho, Federação, Garcia, Quintas da Barra, Retiro, Alto do Abacaxi, Alto das Pombas, Estrada da Liberdade, Estrada do Rodagem, Cabrito, Cruz do Cosme, Matatú Pequeno, etc., are all predominantly inhabited by blacks and darker mixed-bloods. The lighter *mestiços* are clearly in the minority and whites quite rare. On the other hand, the ridges of Vitoria, Canella, and Graça and the seaside *bairro* of Barra are almost entirely inhabited by whites, with only a limited number of the lighter mixed-bloods scattered among them. It is, however,

[13] An American resident who had spent five years at Lagos on the African West Coast once remarked, "When I go out into the suburbs of Bahia, I feel like I am back in Africa, the Negro huts and their surroundings are so similar."

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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true that one finds, on the slopes to the rear of the more pretentious houses of these areas and spreading into the valleys beyond, a considerable number of simple huts whose occupants are blacks and darker mixed-bloods.

Nazaré is less predominantly an area of white residence, there being in this *bairro* numbers of very light *mestiços* but, except on the slopes toward the Baixa dos Sapateiros, on the one hand, and the Dique, on the other, relatively few blacks. The transitional sections of Santo Antonio, Barbalho, Barris, Tororó, and the peninsula of Itapagipe (which extends more than a mile out into Todos os Santos Bay) are predominantly inhabited by mixed-bloods. Nevertheless, here also a few whites and a considerable number of blacks, particularly in such subsections as Massaranduba in Itapagipe, also live side by side with *mestiços*.

One soon discovers, however, that this ethnic segregation is largely due to the circumstance that color and class, as we shall soon see in detail, tend to coincide. This is, of course, a situation to be anticipated, given the circumstances and conditions of Negro importation and settlement and the comparatively recent emergence of the darker race from a servile status. The important consideration is that there is in Bahia, it seems, no deliberate attempt to segregate the races as a means of maintaining caste or class distinctions.

In fact, the spatial distribution of the races would appear even on first sight to be an index of the racial situation, and longer acquaintance with the city tends to confirm this hypothesis. The residential pattern suggests a gradually evolving, freely competitive society in which the Europeans settled on the ridges, and the Africans and their descendants, as propertyless slaves, or impoverished freedmen, were rele-

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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gated to the less desirable territory. Although the Europeans have still today, to a considerable extent, maintained their original advantage, the blacks and darker mixed-bloods have gradually pushed themselves up the slopes from their less favored locations until now they have come, in some cases, to share a portion of the Europeans' favored position. One occasionally finds them living next to the homes of the whites, symbolizing the fact that they now occupy those positions, social as well as spatial, which personal ability, occupational proficiency, and favorable circumstance have enabled them to achieve and to maintain. Thus the racial distinctions which one from the United States is so likely on first acquaintance to note turn out to be, as we shall soon see in more detail, not the things which are either so genuine or so important as at first sight might appear.

It is significant, in this connection, that in what might be called the intermediate residential areas of the city, where the dwellings of those who are rising out of the lower classes meet the dwellings of the upper classes, one finds the darker and the lighter portions of the population meeting and mingling in close residential proximity. This is true, for example, along the Avenida Sete de Setembro.

The Avenida Sete de Setembro, from Jardim Suspenso on, is the only artery into the "downtown area" from South Bahia. It thus becomes the route of passage for processions like those of Carnival, the "Micarêta,"[14] the Peruada,[15] and the numerous religious *festas*, and the avenue of march for the military during visits of political celebrities. Its streetcar line and constant flow of busses would make it less de-

[14] The "Micarêta" is the so-called "second Carnival" held the Sunday following Easter.

[15] The Peruada is an annual students' parade with floats.

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sirable as a seat of residence for one weary of the noises of an industrial city, but for the Bahian wife and daughters, whose world is still largely inside the doors of the home, these characteristics seem to give it a peculiar charm. Hence, one will see along this avenue, almost from Praça Castro Alves out, the residences of many substantial families and, in Vitoria, just beyond the governor's palace, the more pretentious dwellings of the upper class.

TABLE 1

FAMILIES DWELLING ALONG THE AVENIDA SETE DE SETEMBRO CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO ETHNIC COMPOSITION, BAHIA, 1936

	Number	Per Cent
Black	19	7.6
Mixed-blood	97	38.6
White	128	51.0
Mixed-blood and white	5	2.0
Black and mixed-blood	2	0.8
Total	251	100.0

No Bahian house which boasts any pretension fails to have a balcony, while nearly all possess large casement windows opening out on the street. From this vantage point the family can while away many pleasant hours leaning on elbows and "watching the *gente* (people) go by." Consequently, one can readily gain, especially during the passage of processions when the balconies and windows are fully occupied, rather accurate information on the physical character of the population. It is possible at Carnival, for example, particularly just preceding the passage of the floats, to take a census with respect to racial composition, as far

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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at least as color is an index of race.[16] On the first evening of Carnival in 1936 an analysis into color categories of families dwelling along this avenue from Jardim Suspenso to the Church of São Bento gave the distribution shown in Table 1.

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That families of whites, of mixed-bloods, and of relatively unmixed blacks dwell indiscriminately side by side on this important street is even more clearly evident if one notes the house-by-house distribution as he proceeds along the Avenida:

White	Mixed-blood	Mixed-blood
White	White	White
Mixed-blood	Mixed-blood (dark)	White
Mixed-blood	Mixed-blood (dark)	White
Mixed-blood	White	Mixed-blood
White	Mixed-blood	Mixed-blood
Mixed-blood	Mixed-blood	Black
White	White	Black
White	Mixed-blood	Mixed-blood
Mixed-blood (dark)	Mixed-blood	Mixed-blood
Mixed-blood	White	Mixed-blood
White	White	White

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Of 142 white students to whom the question, "Do you dislike black neighbors?" was put, 120 responded "No." And of 143 who responded to the question, "Do you dislike *pardo* (brown) neighbors?" 129 replied in the negative. Among the small minority who in each case appeared to be somewhat troubled by the immediate proximity of darker neighbors, subsequent inquiry developed that ordinarily the objection arose out of apprehension that residence among black neighbors might imply residence in a lower-class (and hence less

[16] It is obviously likely that the actual residents were joined on this occasion by other persons, either relatives or friends. But since the object was not to count faces but to test the ethnic composition of families dwelling side by side, this possibility did not materially affect the enumeration. Only seven cases were found of mixed ethnic composition, and it is reasonable to assume in the light of the Bahian culture that some of these were so by reason of ethnic mixture in the family itself.

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desirable) neighborhood. The objection appeared to be not so much to the blacks *as such* but rather to those areas in which the darker portion of the population, being less secure financially (as we shall presently see in more detail), ordinarily dwell.

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In this connection it is also significant to note that an occasional black resides in such upper-class sections as Canella or Vitoria without any question being made of the fact. He will ordinarily be a person of wealth, education, professional competence, and "good breeding"; in other words, a member of the upper classes. Similarly significant is the complementary fact that a considerable number of lower-class whites may be found living in the valleys or the outlying regions, scattered among the darker portion of the population, imbedded quite unconsciously in what might be called, if they were in the United States, the "Negro bottoms."[17] Sharing a common life with the other illiterate poor, these occasional white families visit about among their darker neighbors, eat, drink, work, play, and intermarry with them, and participate in a common body of ideas and sentiments, just as at the other end of the class scale an occasional black participates in the predominately white world of the élite.

Thus, although Bahia is divided quite definitely into upper- and lower-class residents who occupy rather distinct areas of the city, and these class and geographical divisions also tend to correspond rather closely to the color divisions in the population, one notes certain significant exceptions whose occurrence points rather clearly toward class rather than caste as the basis of social organization.

[17] An occasional well-to-do white upper-class family will reside in a lower-class area, the house and grounds ordinarily taking on the appearance of a spacious country seat surrounded by more humble dwellings.

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the same or similar religious beliefs and practices, they were able to act effectively together.

In 1806, following a raid upon a "conspirator's house," the imprisonment of a number of suspected plotters, and the confiscation of "four hundred arrows, a bundle of sticks, and quantities of cord for the making of bows, a large number of knives and pistols, a gun and a drum," orders were issued to arrest every slave found in the streets after nine o'clock at night "without a letter from his master or in his company."[39] The following year correspondence between African conspirators in Bahia and Santo Amaro (a sugar center in the Reconcavo) was intercepted, and the leaders thus exposed were subsequently tried, sentenced to death, and executed.[40] About the same time the governor of Bahia ordered destroyed two troublesome *quilombos*, or settlements of fugitive slaves, on the outskirts of the city near Cabula and Nossa Senhora dos Mares, and the *capitãomor* with eighty soldiers surrounded their huts and took prisoner seventy-eight blacks, some of whom were free Negroes.[41]

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In 1809 a revolt about twelve miles from Bahia was put down after the Haussás had "committed all sorts of outrages."[42] In 1813 about five hundred Haussás revolted and fled into the surrounding country but were speedily pursued and disarmed and their leaders publicly hung on gallows erected in Praça Piedade, one of the principal squares of the city. Several others were deported to Africa.[43] In 1826 soldiers had to be sent to various points in the Reconcavo,

[39] Silva, *op. cit.*, p. 346.

[40] Alvares do Amaral, *Resumo chronologico da Bahia* (Bahia, n.d.), p. 111.

[41] Eduardo A. de Caldas Britto, "Levantes de pretos na Bahia," *Revista do Instituto Geographico e Historico da Bahia*, XXIX, 72.

[42] Alvares do Amaral, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

[43] *Ibid.*, p. 39. See also Ramos, *As culturas negras*, p. 337.

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The present town of Orobó,[60] approximately a hundred and fifty miles interior from the port of Bahia, is said to have had its origin in such a settlement.[61] Even outlying areas of the city of Bahia like Matta Escura and Estrada da Liberdade, and the neighboring villages of Cabula, Armação, Pirajá, and Itapoan, are said to have had their origin in *quilombos*, dating from the colonial period. From these settlements there were frequent sallies of Negroes into the city to rob and to pillage. However, no *quilombo* in the state of Bahia

[60] The name has recently been changed to Ruy Barbosa.

[61] On September 23, 1796, an investigation was ordered of complaints regarding the *quilombo* of Orobó. On April 6 of the following year this report was made (Silva, *op. cit.*, III, 227):

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Illustrious and Esteemed Sir:

There having been repeated requests on the part of certain *senhores de engenho* and owners of *fazendas* living in the vicinity of Orobó, district of the villa of Cachoeira, that there be destroyed a very old *quilombo* of fugitive slaves who have been wasting and destroying neighboring plantations and committing other excesses of great damage to the settlers, I ordered the *desembargador*, Juiz de Fora, of the same villa to find out if these reports were true, and if they were, to seek by all means possible to destroy this *quilombo*, using all prudence and care to avoid any fatal occurrence in the execution of the order, in view of the great distance between Cachoeira and that district, as well as our ignorance of the size of the *quilombo* which, according to some accounts, was not small. The necessity of collecting provisions, of enrolling and arming men . . . . delayed for some time the execution of this order until, the complaints continuing and the people themselves offering to lend some aid and assistance, I ordered the *capitão-mor* of Entrados e Assaltos of the District of São José das Itapororocas, Severino Pereira, to organize an armed force and to destory the *mocambo*. This order was carried out in December of last year, the two *quilombos*, or *mocambos*, known as Orobó and Andrah being destroyed. At these places were found fields of manioc, *inhame*, rice, fruit, and a little sugar cane, with all of which the inhabitants had easily been able to sustain themselves. Thirteen slaves were apprehended, among them men, women, and children, all of whom were delivered up to their respective masters. Previous to the arrival of the armed force, it is reported, a great number of slaves living there fled, for apparently they suspected, or perhaps were even aware of, the impending attack. As it appeared that they had fled to another *quilombo* called Tupim, farther off, I ordered that it similarly be destroyed, but I have not yet had notice whether such has been done. This is what I have to offer Your Excellency in reply to a letter directed to me and received on the 23rd of September of last year, urging me to undertake the most effective means of destroying the indicated *quilombos* and of relieving the settlers.

God guard Your Excellency.

Bahia, 6th of April, 1797. Most Illustrious and Excellent Sir, D. Rodrigo de Sousa Coutinho.

D. Fernando José de Portugal

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Nagô at times spoken in Bahia and an occasional individual whose command of this language is comparable to his command of Portuguese.

The nature of Negro settlement at Bahia favored to a considerable extent the preservation of African cultural forms. Tribal units were not deliberately broken up, as in Jamaica and the United States, and the Negro was thereby able to preserve and to transmit to his children a considerable portion of his African heritage. Even on the plantations the distribution of newly imported Africans among the old-established Negroes seems not to have occurred.[8] The concentration in the city of Bahia over a long period of time of large numbers of semi-independent *negros de ganho*, around whom there gradually accumulated a considerable number of relatively unassimilated free Negroes, also favored the persistence of African cultural elements.

It is likely that Nagô was not maintained in a pure form but came to be a patois containing numerous elements from other African dialects as well as from Portuguese. A Catholic missionary, Padre Coquard, visiting Bahia in 1899 to solicit funds, spoke to the colored population in Nagô. But the sermon, preached in the ancient church of Sé, was wholly ineffective.[9]

Other African languages were spoken in Bahia.[10] Rodrigues believed that Gêge (or Ewe) was used throughout the eighteenth century and until at least the middle of the nine-

[8] Henry Koster, *Travels in Brazil, 1809 to 1815* (2 vols.; Philadelphia, 1817), I, 229 n.

[9] Rodrigues, *op. cit.*, pp. 200–201. Perhaps another reason for this ineffectiveness was that the Negroes who were most able to understand Nagô were unassimilated Africans who, out of loyalty to the religion of their fathers, deliberately absented themselves from this ceremony of the Catholic church.

[10] *Ibid.*, pp. 197–230.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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755 help me get better, they took me up off the ground.[42] Then my mother called in Mamêdê [the local *pae de santo*], to see what was the matter with me. He came, *abriu a mesa*[43] and said that this had been with me from my birth. My mother then asked him if he could cure it. He said he could. He made her buy plates, *moringues*,[44] beads, cups, coconuts, etc. Then he prepared all that.[45] They washed my head with water from the sacred leaves. My mother asked if he could take that thing away so that it would not come back again. He said he would not dare to do that, or I would die. He said it always came back.

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When it returned, they washed my head again. I did not know what was going on. It was as if I had slept. When I awakened, I was all "prepared": dressed *de creola* with a *saia grande* and a *torso* on my head. Everything red. *Sandalias* too. Everything the same color.

When this happened I was still small. The *pae de santo* said that I was under a spell [*era encanto*]. He "did the work" once more, and I was all right again. But when I was seven years old, it took hold of me once more. My mother was afraid and begged the *pae de santo* to do something about it. She pleaded so earnestly that finally he said he would speak with the enchantment [*encanto*] so that it would not come down any more.

It didn't come back until I was fifteen years old. Then they arranged another dress *de creola*, and also handkerchiefs, strings of beads, bracelets, and *sandalias*. They ordered plates, small glasses, and *quartinhas* bought. When all this was ready, the *pae de santo* washed my head in sacred water. He said it was the "owner of my head" [*dono da minha cabeça*] who had done that to me. There in Cachoeira, across the river from São Felix,[46] is the *casa de Gêge*.[47] The *pae de santo* is the grandson of an African.

[513] [42] That is, she was removed from the reed mat which, placed directly upon the floor of a hut, is extensively used among the poorer families for sleeping purposes.

[285] [43] That is, he set up certain means of divination.

[415] [44] Water pots made of red clay.

[45] That is, he submitted it to the proper ritual.

• [361] [46] Cachoeira and São Felix are twin cities, separated by the Paraguassú River, located across the Bay to the north of the city of Bahia.

[794] [47] The *candomblé* of the Gêge cult in which she had now been inducted.

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[SALVADOR]

/9/ The Ethnic Types of Bahia

Bahia owes its reputation, not only to its privileged location on the shores of a magnificent bay and to its churches of an ornate rococo style, but also, to a certain degree, to the excellent relations that exist in the heart of its motley population between people of different color. Stephan Zweig drew a very vivid picture of Bahia and its ancient traditions. For him, Brazil began with this city, and not only Brazil, but also South America. "In this city was erected the first pier of the vast bridge thrown across the Atlantic; in it has originated, through the combination of European, African, and American material, the new mixture that is fermenting so actively at the present time (1)."

1. Stephan Zweig, Brazil, Pais do Futuro /Brazil, Land of the Future/, trans. by Gallotti, Rio de Janeiro, 1941, p. 275.

From its founding under the official name of Cidade do Salvador, Bahia began to be known for its wealth, which it owed to the sugar produced by its fazendas (2)

2. Plantations.

and its engenhos (3).

3. Sugar mills.

It was also renowned for the magnificence of the worship in its numerous churches, for the religious processions that passed through its narrow, climbing streets, and for the traditions, so typically Portuguese, of its inhabitants. Center of importation of African slaves, Bahia was also famous for the large proportion of Blacks in its population, to the point that foreign travelers of the colonial period speak of this city as a "new Guinea" (4).

4. M. Frezier, Relation du voyage de la mer du Sud aux côtes du Chili et du Pérou fait pendant les années 1712, 1713 and 1714 /Account of the

[SALVADOR]

/34/ A Multiracial Society with Classes

565 [114] The structure of the classes of Bahia has never been described and analyzed from the sociological point of view, except very summarily by Donald Pierson (1).

1. Donald Pierson, op. cit., p. 64.

As this scholar shows, one may say schematically that the population of Bahia consists of an "upper" class, to which belong the descendants of the old aristocracy, the great landowners and the merchants, the intellectuals and those who practice a liberal profession, such as lawyers, doctors, engineers, politicians, officers of the armed forces, poets and journalists, university professors, the few industrialists that Bahia has produced, and a lower class made up of very poor people engaged in simple occupations, unskilled workmen and manual laborers. There is, furthermore, a stratum that one cannot exactly call a middle class, but rather an intermediate group, containing minor employees, petty officials, and tradesmen.

*563 555 565 As for their place in society, one may say that, although in general terms the status of the Bahians depends on their birth, there is no doubt that social ascent proceeds by way of free competition. Blacks and métis, as individuals, may, "by their personal merit or as the result of favorable circumstances, improve their social situation and even obtain a position in the upper strata of society; this position will be in keeping, not only with their color group, but with the whole of the community" (2).

2. Ibid., p. 419, 422; cf. also Frazier, art. cit., p. 477.

565 *563 [361] [362] The majority of colored persons, like all the lower class, lives in poor quarters, in the outskirts of the city or in small clusters of modest houses interspersed in the residential quarters of the higher classes; moreover, numerous colored families of intermediate or upper status live in these same quarters. Colored persons are admitted, according to their economic resources and